A THESIS ACCEPTED BY THE UNIVERSITE OF THEM IN A PLEO OF THE FOUR PAPERS IN SLIEBLIT AT THE 22 APPLICATION.

# IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS AND THE ARTHAS'ĀSTRA OF KAUŢILYA

BY B. B. NAIK, M. A.

# WITH A FOREWORD

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Te my father

Terthoruga BHIMRAO B NAIK with gratified and love

## FOREWORD

A few years ago the University of Bombay decided to institute, in the M. A. curriculum, a degree by thesis as an alternative to the more ordinary degree by examination. The motive of this change was to encourage research and to make students think for themselves

The Karmtak College has already been responsible for much creditable teseurch through the medium of its Sanskrit Literary Association but this essay by Mr. B. B. Naik — recently accepted by the University — is the first thesis submitted from the College. It is an attempt to chucidate the basic political ide is of the Ancient Hindus, and though I cannot unfortunately claim any personal knowledge of the Sanskrit texts examined, I can recognize in it an honest and painstaking attempt to solve a difficult problem.

A. C. FARRAN

## PREFACE

While reading for the degree of B A., I had to etudy the Arthas'astra of Kantilya along with my fellow students1 by employing modern critical methode under the direction of Prof. V. G Bhat, M. A (cantab). Partly owing to the political genius of ite author, and partly to the modero character of the administrative machinery described therein, my enriceity in ancient Indian Politics received an impetue which impelled me to study besides the Arthaefastra, some more Sanekrit works bearing on the subject in question, like the Mahabharata. the Gautama Dharmasūtra, the Manusmriti etc. Accidently. I maked up some books written by oriental scholars oo Hindu Polity pamely, Prof. Sarkar's Political Iosti tutions and Theories of the Hindus'. Dr. Bacaries's 'Poblic Administration to Ancient India ' Javaswal'e 'Hindu Polity,' etc. But the conclusions arrived at hy these scholars in repard to the political ideals and theories of the ancient Hindus, which usually hinted at the existence of the elements of democracy, somebow appeared to be in disagreement with the notions, which I had formed after reading the books mentioned above. To secertain the correctness of my views I began to etndy them (especially the Arthrafastra ), with great attention

<sup>1</sup> This was while we were working for the 'Sindies in the Arthes astra of Kantlya' — a publication of the Sanskrit Laterary Association, Karnatak College Dharwar, in the year 1929

#### PREFACE

but to my surprise and estisfaction the ideas which I originally held concerning ancient Hindu Politics appeared to be both seund and correct. The present essay is a medest attempt at their systematic expression.

In order to equip myself with necessary knowledge for the purpose I studied same works on modern Politice, such as "The Nature of the State" be Willoughby, "Elements of Politicel Science" by Leacock etc and also went through the Dharmas as the interaction and the relevant portions of the Mahābhārats I have not in this connexion, adduced any passages from the Rigarda in this essay as, in that particular ege, it is not possible to find any developed theories of the State and its evinin.

In the course of trying to find out the basic ideas of the ancient Hindus about the State I came to know that they were based on the foundations of Dharma alone And this to my mind is a fresh contribution to our understanding of the political philosophy of the Hindus of bygons days

In the following pages I have set forth my views

The chief intention of the seasy heing an examination of the political ideas of the appent Hindus in the

hight of modern political science. I have first of all deals with a low essential theories of the State prevalent in the West I have also tred to explain in brief the modern idea of the State. Then I have proceeded at some length to examine the conception of Ancient Hindu Kingship (for that was the only iostitution of the State with which they were familiar). As a result of its critical examination I found out that the ancient Hindu monarchy was based on the secure foundations of the Dharma – the hasto principle of the universe and not on any of the democratic principles. I have accidently ostablished a similarity between the Dharma and the idea of the State in Europe.

The latter ball of the essay I have devoted for the eritical examination of the Artha's stra of...Kantilya I have selected for my study this patientlar work because I deem to be the most representative and comperbessive transition on the political doss of our forefather. As an octoome of its critical study I have concluded that what was true of the Dharmas'sstra idea of the State was equally true of the other of the Arthas'sstra and this fact showed to me that Kantilya took the political philosophy of the Dharmas'sstras for granted and treated of the practical administration in the State to cope with the complex requirements of the Manryan empire that probably was constituted of petry autonomous states.

#### PREFACE

The whole trend of the essay is to show that the content Indian political philosophy is not based, as some scholars are tempted to holieve, on the principles of democracy, but on the wider principle of Dharms

Now I have the very pleasant duty of tendering my grateful thanks to Principal A. C. Farran, M A .t E S. of the Rarnstak College, Dharwar, for Lindly writing the foreword and also for oncouragement and valuable suggestions. I also offer my sencorest thanks to my tutor Prof V. G. Bhat, M A (Caulab) M.R.A.S. under whom I had the privilege and pleasure of working as a postgraduate student, for constant edvice and paternal oncouragement. But for his able guidance it would have been practically ampossible for me to place this book before the public. I also take this apportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Principal G. B. Jathar, M.A.IES, for baying provided me with all sorts of facili ties while working for the essay Lastly, my cordial thanks are due to all my friends, and especially to Mr K. Rancapur, for having prepared the manuscript for the press and also to Mr Y. B Jathar, B A . L.T. B . the obliging proprietor of the Karnatak Printing Works. Dharwar for the very nice get no of the hooklet

DHARWAR 14th November 1932 B. B NAIK

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# IDEALS OF

# ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

AND THE

# ARTHAS'ĀSTRA OF KAUTILYA

# THE THEORIES OF THE STATE AND THE INSTITUTION OF MONARCHY

The Object of the assay—Or gas of the State and justification of its authority—The Soc al Contract theory—Hobbes, Locks and Rossess—The Drivin theory—The Historical theory—Mousrohy, the seriest form of the body politic—Natura of Monarchy — Monarchy and Democracy compared—The State as conserted to-day

The essay being primarily an attempt at a study of Aoctent Hindu Politics in general and the Arthas atra of Kautilya in particular, on modern critical lines, we think it necessary to treat in biref at the very outset those ideas of modern political ectobics which are essential for its proper understanding. Accordingly the first thapter which forms as it were the background of the thesis has been exclusively devoted for the concise pre-

#### IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDE POLITICS

sentation of the ideas of western political thinkers con corning the state and its origin.

Any inquiry in the field of political science, must be based on clear notions as regards the crigin of the State and the justification of its authority. The question of the rationality of the authority of the State is intimately connected with the one of the origin "Speculation," says Leacook, "as to the beginning of government is not merely a matter of historical curiosity, for it is intimately connected with the more important question of the justification of government—the right of the State to be."

With the dawn of political constituents, man, who blindly obeyed authority from sheer fear of physical or supernatural force attempted a rational explanation of political power. Crude concepts as to the origin of the State and its authority were followed by more resonable theories which kept pase with the contemporary political experiments. To the modern analytical eye these speculative theories of the past may appear fallacious, being in the main the outgrowth of the actual political conditions of their age. "explaning the institutions and reflecting the motives and ideals underlying current political thought and thus lable to modification with the changes of time and its notitical ideals. These various thancing although fallacious have exarted great

#### IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

State, which enforced by all meated mutual rights and duties." In addition to the formation of the hold politic, the individuals constituting it had to reach a further agreement among themselves, according to which a government was created and authority concentrated in particular hands.

This is in aubstance the theory of Social Contract.
"It is essentially individualistic, viewing the State as the deliherate creation of man, and the authority of government as resting ultimately on the consent of the governed."

This theory the idea of which is traced even in the writings of Plato and Aristotle 1 attained great prominence during the seventeenth and the eighteenth ecutives, lending itself to divergent interpretations at the hands of Hobbes, Locke, and Roussean According to Hobbes, the Etate of Nature being one of war, men by consent transferred their 'Rights' irrevocably in a common authority who was expected in afford them protection but who formed no party in the contract. Locke thought the State of Nature to be one of 'equality end freedom' but illumately unashirate they and inconvenient He therefore each that men were led to abandon their Natural State and addunt to the restraint of the Civil Scotety. In the contract which they made bowere, the

<sup>1.</sup> See Tozar's Introduction to Rousseau's Social Contract

#### TREORIES OF THE STATE

ruis- was also a party and hence Locke maintained that the contract was subject in dissultation the moment be monarch failed to attend in his day. With Roussean the State of Nature was one of ideal happiness relin quished only hecause of the growing population and advancing civilization which brought evils in their train and marred the condition of this "idylic felicity." According in the agreement which men formed the government was viewed as a mere instrument to carry out the orders of the General Will.

From the above it can be easily seen that there philosophera offered their individual expositions of the theory in order to justify the political institutions which each of them affected the first advocating absolute Monareby, the second opholding constitutional or limited Monareby, and the third pleading for modern Democracy.

<sup>1</sup> Though the fundamental principles on which the theory is based have been volently criticuted, yet, it should be remembered that the sprint of the theory is were there to serve as the corner stone of any state in any age. Of "Whanever any form of gory' apart from the merest tyrange variety, reflection on the base of the state cannot bet lead to the notion that it is based on the consent teath or expressed past or precent, of its members." G D H Cole-un his introduction to R's Social Contract.

#### IDEALS OF ARCIEST RINDEL POLITICS.

# 2 The Theory of Divine Right.

Next comes the theory of the dwine right of kings It apprang up in the period of religious strile between the papacy and the new protestant princes and was used first as a weapon of defence by the latter late it become a doleasive weapon of the memorchists. The theory postulates that the institution of the State—and especially that of mourachy is a deliberate divine creation. That the king is a trustee of the people directly appointed by Godes his representative on earth. This theory makes the king responsible to God

# 3 The Present Political Theory

The edifice of the 'Historical or the Evolutionary theory' which is being advocated by the heat of modern thickers is erected on the solid foundations of a vast amount of research work in the field of Anthropology.

It views the Siste oot as a deliberate butman creation or a Divine gift but as an organism, subject to the ordinary laws of nature. It has according to this theory, gone through a long process of growth or development and is comparable to physical or intellectual capabilities of man. It establishes that 'the Siste's not an lawour tion, it is a growthy an evolution the result of a gradual process throughout affi the known history of man and receding into the remote and unknown past.' "The

<sup>1.</sup> Leacook -Elements of Political Science

theory holds the institution of Patriarchal family to be the primary ont of social organisation. According to it families combined to form a "gens" or the "House", groups of "houses" formed a tribe and finally a community of tribes resolved itself into the State. Ultimately the family discipline permeated the entire or anisation and bence the earliest distinctive political institution manifested itself everywhere to the form of monarchy.

Kautilya being the foremost exponent of the acciect Iodica state-craft, it is bot extural that his ideas occurring the State should exclosively hinge on the testitotico of mecarchy. Before therefore, embarking upon the discussion of the sobject proper it is essential for us to clarify our ideas about monerchy so as to employ them in our examination of the Arthan-Sairta.

In this form of government in theory at least, and thority is concentrated in a single individual who is called the king. He is the main-spring or repository of the executive judicial, and legislative powers, and consequently the administrative officials of the state are expected to carry out his beheats. As a corollary to

l For a detailed description of the crolution of the State from the family, see Wilson's The State-Chapter I

<sup>2</sup> It is significant to note in this connection that Aristotle had long anticipated or rather outlined this theory of 'Evolution' in his Politics.

#### IDEALS OF ANCIENT BINDU POLITICS

this bis indefeasable covereignty follows the theory of bis overlordship with reference to that particular tract of country over whish I accretises his away I unconarchy men retain their possessions for themselves only during the pleasure of the king. Under this form of government, the State is completely identified with the rule and hence all its activities tend to converge to the single and of promoting his own material prosparity. Furthermore, the will of the monarch reigns expression cover the will of the people, and listly what is called Civil liberty exists if at all only in a very restricted source It may only be said to exist in so far as the individual secures protection against his fellow-subjects. In other words, the institution of monarchy practically reconstities in right is of themselved.

The division of responsibility in monorchy and democracy can well be illustrated by taking the figure of an Isosseles triangle. At the base we find the responsibility of the executive at its highest whereas as we proceed from the base towards the apex the responsibility gradually diminishes till at the vertix we find it at its minimum. So quite unlike the democratic state the four responsible to the mass of the people. Another point of distinction between the two is about the ultimate location of sovereignity. Whereas in monarchy the king is the final sutherity over the

problems of the State in democracy it is the general will of the people alone. Finally, whereas in democracy the government or the administrative machinery derives its authority from the General will in monarchy it derives its authority from the king alone.

Before closing this chapter we are going to state in brief the evolution of the modern idea of the State as we want to utilise it later on for comparing it with its Hindu conception.

Firstly, the State is viewed to-day as a pure secular organisation as distinguished from the Church or the religious institution. The State while not expandered as immoral is now held to be essentially non-moral and its activities and interests viewed as wholly independent of those matters that particularly pertain to the suititual life of man<sup>1,19</sup>.

This idea of the State has evolved from the theological to the metaphysical and thence to the positive stage. In the theological stage the institution of the State end everything pertaining to it—the law and its administrator—were regarded to have been invested with a halo of divinity. Religious and civic matters were almost iden tified. This was the nuiversal estimate of the earliest human society towards the State. Expecially it persist ed long among the nations of the East.

<sup>1.</sup> Willoughby The Nature of the State -P 385

#### IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

In the next or the metaphysical stage not God but.

Native and its laws. The divine element however, was relegated rather to a subordinate position as God was recognized to be but indirectly related to the creation of the hody politic. The Romane, who incorporated the idea of a rational universal law of Nature' elaborated by the Store philosophers, thought all human laws conformed to it and not to the Divice Law.

With the disappearance of the groundless ideas of Divine and Natural laws the conception of the State as a positive and secular institution came into vogue,

Secondly, the modern State is characterised as a thorough Soverign Body—entirely independent both externally and internally. With the elimination of the ideas of Divine and Natural Laws the State whose will was so long presumed to have been festered by either of them naturally realised its unbounded will in the exercise of unqualified authority,—thought it continues to this day the delimitation of its power for practical purposes. The factors which have contributed to the development of this idea are the study of Roman Law, the influence of the Christian Church the fendal idea of allegance the rise of powerful monarchies, and the enunciation of new theoreus in politics.

<sup>1.</sup> Vide Willoughby - The Nature of the State-PP 98 99.

#### THEORIES OF THE STATE

Finally there comes the attribute of what is called the Personality<sup>1</sup> of the State which is said to be the most distinguishing feature of the conception of the modern State. This idea having a most recent origin as it is too abstract, has practically no history behind it.

To conclinde then, the modern State is regarded as a secular positive body absolutely independent both of its citizees and the co-ordinate states, being endowed with a Porsonality of its own which consists in the unity of political purpose of its citizens

<sup>1</sup> Cl ".... Personality is not identical with physical undividuality Personality eignifies the capacity for united, continuous, reasoning volution" Jellink—quoted by Willoughby in The Naurie of the State—P 135.

# The King an embodiment of organised rule to the ancient in the model of the model of the model of the British and the rain of the British under the British and the British under the British under the British under the King—The duties and responsibilities of the King—Limitat ons on regal sathority—(i) Diarms the Countie Tan—the concept as old as the Engrede—identity of Diarms and the idea of the State in Europe (3). The Institut of salf-

preservation. The position of the King in ancient India-The

Patriarchal ideal

Right from the Vedic times the ancient Hindus seem to have realised the coormous importance of organised rule embodied in a King. They appear to have thought that the disciplined life of acciety was coircely due to its existence. The Attaceya Brāhmana tells us that in the battle between the Devas and the Auras the former were defeated, and this defeat, in the opinion of the Devas, was solely due to the fact that they lacked in a King and forth with they elected one from among thomselves.

<sup>1</sup> द्वाध्मुरा वा एषु लेकेषु समयतत ..... तांसतोध्मुरा अजयन ...... द्वाध्मुवन्रसम्बद्धाः व नो जयति रामान करवामद्दाः इति तमिति 1-14.

#### THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY

"If the King", Manu phaeryes, "were not to wield the rod of chastisement with great vigilance over those deserving to be chartised, the strong would kill the weak like the fish in water ". [यदि न प्रणयेद्राजा दण्डं दंडू वेष्वतिन्द्रत । जले मत्स्यानिवासध्यन्दर्वलान्यलवत्तरा ! ]1. The Mahabbarata which holds that it is irreligious ( lit. not in accord with the Vedas) to subabit a Kingless country?. denounces the snarchical form of government prosum ably because of the chaotic condition prevailing therein2, saying "Nothing is more conducive to sin than a king dom without a ruler "4. Almost in the vein of Manu Kautilya also while emphasising the paramount necessity of baying a King, remarks - अप्रणीतो हि सारस्यन्याय मदावयति । वजीयानवर्ते दि प्रसते दण्डथराभावे "When Danda is not exercised it gives rice to the Logic of the fish (s.e suarchy) In the absence of a King wielding the rod of chastisement the strang devours the weak." "The king", says Kâmandaka" is as important a prop of creatures as the rain itself, hay perhaps more since one can survive the failure of rains but not the absence

<sup>4</sup> A11 50

<sup>2</sup> नाराजदेषु राष्ट्रेषु वस्तम्यामात वादकप् । S'āntı, LXVI. 5.

<sup>3.</sup> rf. Verses 13-15:bid, and also 10-19 Ibid. LXVII.

<sup>4</sup> न हि राज्यात्पापतरमस्ति विभिद्राजनात् । S'ânti L'XVI.7.

h. Arthes'astra P 9

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of the King 1 ", Bhāsa echoes the sama idea when he compares the helpless plight of a kingless people to that of a herd of cattle that has lost the herdaman 2

As to the origin of Kingship it was popularly traced from God. This theory of the Divine origin of Kingship which was first binted at in the Righeda and also in the dogmatic assertions of the Bribmanas, "was elaborated and placed on comparatively sounder foundations by Manu and the Mahabharath. The theory detailed in the Mahabharath but nevertheless there is a alight distinction between the two which we shall note later on

1 पर्जन्य इव भूतानामाधार पृथिवीपतिः।

विश्वतेऽपि हिप रेन्ये जीन्यते न तु भूपते। Nituana eb.I 13

एवं मुपतिहीना हि विख्य यान्ति वे प्रजा ॥ २३॥

Pratima Act III.

3 "The sponsa of Purukusia gave oblations to you, oh Indra-Varuna with housage Thou unto har ya gave King Trasadasyu the desiryod, the slayer of the found "

पुरुकुत्थानी हि वामदाग्रद्ध-थेमिरिन्द्रावरण नमोमि ।

थया रातान त्रसदस्युमस्या इतद्दश ददशुरर्धदेव ॥

4 As as to why a Rajanya ahoota, he the Rajanya, is manifestly of Prajapati hones while heing one he rules over many— 'Satapatha Beahmana' 1, 5, 14 And also Of Vajasaneya Sambita 1 4 2 2, 5 a

Let us firstly take up the theory of Vanu. He says — "When this Kingless world dispersed in terror in all quarters, the Lord created the King for its protection, a heing who was composed of the immutable fractions of Indra, the Wind god Yama the Sun god the Fire god, Varma, the Moon god and the Lord of Westlth." These constituent divice 'Parta' (Matrah) of the king were interpreted as the symbols of his various functions appropriate to different convictions sprogrates to different convictions State of Kature's as one of confusion and anarchy quite to the Kature's as one of confusion and anarchy quite to the Hobbesian spirit's, and attributes the creation of the mounch to the will of God Thus Manu appears to have thought that King's rule rested finally not upon an agreement but upon the divine ordination)

A somewhat similar theory is elaborately and fancifully exponeded to the Mahähbürato. In Chapter 58 of the Näminparvan King Yodhushtira is introduced as asking Shfa'ms two questious—one about the origin of the title of Bhyan and the other about the justification

अराजके दि होकेऽस्मिन्धवती विदुते मयात् । रक्षाप्रेमस्य होकस्य शाजानपदान्यस्य ॥ इन्द्रातिक्यमार्शणाममय वहणस्य च । चन्द्रातिकायार्थेय मात्राविहेल शाखती ॥ प्राः ३ ६

Cf Manu IX 303-311 and also Senti LXVD 40 47
 See page 4 Chapter I (of this essay)

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of the superiority and mastery mione man subject to the ordinary laws of nature over his fellow beings equally intelligent, ellicient, and strong in body and mind. The answer to these operies obviously leads Bhis'ms to recount a story about the creation of the King and the basis of his authority. He begins his discourse by observing " (Originally) there was neither Sovereignty por Sovereign, pettber coercion nor coercive authority, and people used to govern themselves by means of Dharms, the Sacred Law ". But this state could not long endure. In a short time, we are told society fell a victim to the raveging vices of passion. greed, self-todniseoce and apper, and its corruption entailed the effacement of the Vedas and defilement of Righteouspess or Dharma. (The shove description of the gradual corruption of the idulito pre statal coodition as given by Bhis'ma, it should be noted in passing is very cimilar to the idea of Ronseacu about the State of Nature 4) Frightened at this state of affairs the gods

१ नैव राज्य न राजाऽधीत च दण्डो न दाण्डिकः । धर्मेणैव प्रजा सर्वा रेक्षन्ति सा परस्परम् ॥ १४ ॥

S'anti LXVIII.

2 Ibid Verses 15-70

3 विष्युते नरलेकेपर्समस्ततो बद्धा ननाश ह । नाशाच ब्रह्मणो राजन्यमों नाशमधानमंत् ॥ २१ ॥ 1bid.

4. See Chap I P. 4 (of this easay)

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sought the protection of the Lord Brahmā who created for their sake an exhaustwe treatise on Dandaulti which dealt with the fourfold ends of life victic wealth desire and salvation. Then they approached the Lord Vishnu and begged of him to select a person who would deserve the highest position among mortals. Thereupon by the power of his will be created Virayas ( दिरस्स ) nut of hie awn instre- तैयस दिरस्स सोडस्थनमानस सुत्ता, श

The is in substance the theory of the crigin of the State of superscript in the Mahähharata. It is slightly different from Manu in that it putters the State of Nature as being criginally of an idylic condition. Both of them prefectly agree in ascribing the creation of the State or the king to Gol for securing common weal. To put it in modern terminology there theorists view the State neither as a voluntary organisation of men nor as no organism evolved out of human instinct and reason but as a thing imposed upon mankind for its general good by some external Agency superior to men. It is to put in the words of the European monarchies of the Middle Ages the instrument of a divine purpose.

ततोऽच्यायसहस्राणी शत चक्रे स्वमुद्धिजम् । यत्र प्रमंत्तयेवार्ष मामञ्जेव त विष्तु ॥ २९ ॥ निवर्ष शत विश्वयतो गण एप स्वयम् । जतुर्पे मास द्वेष प्रयार्थ प्रयागुण ॥ ६० ॥ sbd
2 Ibd, 96

# IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDE POLITICS

There was another theory current in those times according to which the institution of Kingship owed its origin partly to human initiative. This view has been mentioned in the Mahāhbārata and also in the Arthas's start of Kantilya which we chall note later on. The following is the gust of the theory:—

Being disgnisted with the easte of confusion and suspense wherein like the fish in water the strong assailed the wesk, people errived at a mutual understanding (Samaya) between themselves. (शराज्ञाः प्रजा पूर्व विजाति के श्वतम् । परस्तं अक्षतन्ति सरसा इव जले स्थान् । समेरत् सास्तवस्तु सम्यानित म् श्वतम् ।). But this emitted unto him "We are perishing, ob Lord, for want of a king Appoint a king cover in We shall worship him and be aball protect us ". [स्थानक विजयमा मानवित्य विद्या पुनीम संग्र यसन प्रतिचालक !]. The Great God because Manon on his part was reloctant to assume the reins of government since he said that to rule over mortals of transdight character was unded the most

<sup>1.</sup> S'antiparvan LXVI -- 17-18.

<sup>2, 1</sup>bid, 20-21

difficult task. But the people prevailed upon him to become their king by promising to offer e fixed share of their income.

The theory is equally fanciful like the one mentioned shore. In its attempt to found the State purely on human efforts it inevitably falls hack upon. God as if thinking with the charecteristic of the Hindu mind that eny undertaking would be successful only when sypported and sanctified by the Divine will. In ettributing to Brebman the appointment of Manu es the king of men, the theory, though indirectly, invests Kingship withahalo of divinity

The Divinity and consequent unbounded prowess of the king is extelled in unequivocal terms both in the Mann Sambita and the Mahabharets.

"Because the king is created out of the parts of the guardians of the world', (Lat the Lorda of gods ), Says Manu, "be excels ell the creatures in lastre or greatness", 'Again, according to Mann, in view of his irresistable power and divine splendeur, the king should

पश्नामय पञ्चाश घरण्यस्य तथेव च । धान्यस्य दशमं भागं दास्याम कोशवधेनम् ।

VII.5, and also Of स्थापन बाकरोद्विष्णु स्वयभेव सनातन । नातिवर्तिस्यत कांक्शजानामिति मास्त ॥ 8 काथ LXVIII 135.

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not be molested "Even an infant monarch should never he delied simply on the ecore of his heing a mortal for, (atthough a child) be is verily a mighty divinity confined to a human frame! The ordinary fire hurns a single person who may hannen to toneh it noswares. whereas the fire of royal wrath consumes not only the offender hat his family property and hoards of wealth '? desirous of prosperity . observes the Mahabharatu should honour the king as if he were Indra for tradition eays that in paying homage to the king one worships Indra himself". It further asserts that gods and the Lords of men are of equal status\*. The conception of king's divinity reaches its culmination when the Mahāhhārata completely identifies the ruler with God Vishnu saying ' then the divine Vishnu entered the nerson of the king ( : e Prithu to this case ) and thence forward the Lords of men are worshipped like gods".

Santi TXVI A

<sup>1</sup> Cf The powers that he are ordained of God Whoseever therefore res steth the power resistesh the ordinance of God ' St Faul - Que ed by Dunning - Folitical Theories -Ance on and Med eval Page 178

<sup>2</sup> Mana VII 8 9 and Of also S anti LXVII, Sls 40 & 50

४ इन्द्रवेद प्रणमत यद्र जानमिति स्मृति । य वदैन्द्रस्तथा राजा सपुत्रयो भातमिच्छना ॥

<sup>4</sup> Santi LXVII 163

s Santi LAVII 100

<sup>5</sup> Ibid LXVIII 186

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But this un que position of the King in the land was counterpoised by the beary responsibility that fell on his shoulders. He was thought to be responsible for any social evil. ("When a King erre", remarke Bifs'ma. "a great calamity befalls the state with the recult that irreligious elements spring forth eausing confusion of the costos. 1 Nature itself, we are further told, revolts against such a ruler. The Mahābhārata looke upon the King at the master-architect of the desticies of men. "When a Soversign commits a hlunder the whole world itself is stopified, (for) be slone is the headstor or the destroyer of all beings. Nay, he is the father of circumstances, of time. "All the four ages of Krita, Treta, Dwöpres and Kalt."; observes the Mahābhārata, "derive their exceptions from the king and hence the king himself is

क्षत्रियस्य प्रमत्तस्य दोयस्संजायते महान् ।
 अधर्मासंप्रवर्धन्ते प्रजामकाकारका ॥

S'anta LXL, 36

- 2. Cf S'anti LXL 8 . 37 %.
- उन्सर्व एव प्रमुखन्त यदा राजा प्रमायति । राजेव कर्ता मृताना राजेव च विनाशकः ॥

S'anti LXLI 6-9.

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called an age 1 A king again it is asserted who fails to discharge his duties partakes of ein committed by the neonle 'That ruler, save the enic who even beying received one sixth of the income (of the subjects) does not protect them chares one fourth of their sin ,3 Dangerous is the abuse of Danda the law of punis hment Danda if used in all wisdom " Manu remerks. pleases the people and if wielded indiscriminately brings about an all round destruction "2. Or the ell powerful sceptre might even annihilate the monarch swerving from the path of his duty \* Bhis'ma having ascribed the bitth of the four eges to the proper or improper application of Dandaniti 5 chaerves. A king who creates the Kali or the Iron age (thus) committing the forlist port of sin becomes an eternal resident of Hell a wretch sinking in the eins of his subjects " He

 कत बेता द्वापरब करिश्व भरतपंस । रापहतानि सर्वाणि राजैव युगमुच्यते

Sant Ibid, E & also

Cf Mann IX 302 and Sant IXIX 25.

Cf Santi XXIV Si 16 and also Ibid, IXXV 8

समिद्य स पुत सम्पन्नको राज्यात प्रजा

असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्त विनाद्ययति सर्वतः ॥

Mann VII. 19 Ibd VII 28

Shanti IXIX S1 94 क्ले प्रवर्तनाद्वाजा पापमस्यतमञ्जूत । ततो बसात दण्डमी नरके शासती समा ॥ प्रजाना करमपे मग्रोऽकीति चापि विन्दति !

Ibid 27 78

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was also considered to be commiscally responsible. This responsibility appears to have been more tangible and direct than the social responsibility. For instance, the Dharmas'āstras enjoined upon the king in nomistakshile terms to make good the concernio loss suffered by or of the subjects on account of his negligence or exclusives in the proper discharge of his duties. Thus Gantama says, "A King baving recovered a property stolen by there's shall couse it to be received by its legitimate uwner, ( and in the event of his failure in linding it out ), he shall compensate the loss by paying out of his own coffers'. [चीरमाजिस यमारावर्ग गमबेद्वाजा ! की ग्राह्म एवस्स्ता ].

His main duty was to ensure the safety of his subjects. Very great etress was laid on this duty of protection. In the course of his long discourse Bhls'ma in the Mahäbhārata points out to his royal interlocutor that in the opinion of the great political thinkers of yore 'Protection' was the cream in easence of regal duties (याम्याना नवर्तात्प्). He himself emphatically declares that it is the supreme duty of a king. Manu attributes

1. XL 60-67; Of also Vishou IL 66-67

<sup>2.</sup> E'anti, LXVIII. B L. 1-3.

<sup>2.</sup> पूप पूप परो धर्मः बद्दाजा रहाति प्रजाः । Ibid LANI 26 also CA-1bid-11, LANIL, -88 ; LALL a; and Mang. VII 144

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the creation of the king to the divine purpose of protection. The king who neglected to protect his subjects was no king at all. Says the Great Epic.

किमनद्धाः या न वहेत् कि वा धेन्वाऽप्यहम्धया । वन्यया भाषेया कोऽछं कोऽछं राजाव्यरक्षता ॥

What is the use of the bull which heare no burden?

What purpose is served by the cow which gives no milk?

What purpose is served by the cow which gives no milk?

Of what avail is the barren wife? what is to be done
with the monarch who is to protect (the people)?

Besides ensuring the safety of his subjects he had to
attend to the following duties (a) Alwaye to seek the
welfare of the people <sup>2</sup> (b) to establish all his subjects
in the observance of the respective duties (a) to
dispense justice with equity <sup>2</sup> (d) to practice continuous a

and lastly (e) to plesse the people <sup>2</sup>

The moral threats which we noted just above were intended to restrain the king from atnung he power which was not in any way restreted by any constitutional means. But these threats by themselves could

<sup>4</sup> रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमस्ट्यम् । VII अ

<sup>2</sup> Santi LXXVIII, 41

<sup>3</sup> Of Gautama XX 6

<sup>4</sup> Ibd 9 and also Cf Mann VII \$5 Vasistha XIX 7 5 Gautama IX 8 Mann VIII 8

<sup>6</sup> Gautama XI 4 Manu VII 30-31

<sup>7</sup> Santı LXVIII

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hardly serve the purpose for which they were primerily intended. This fact however does not exclude the possibility of the existence of some self-imposed checks. These were the considerations of Dharms and the tostinet of self-preservation.

# As to the limitation of Dharma:-

The duties of the king were consted as part and parcel of Dharma—and hence it was that the section on Rājadharma (duties of the king) found its place in the Dhermas'astres—the supreme law which was cooseved at the hasis of the universal order and believed to have been emanated from the Divice Will.\(^1\) It was considered as the (nodameotal principle conductive to the solidarity and progress of the universe of which the human society formed a part. (It might be expleined as the sun-total of the powers of the oniverse or more concretely as the will of the Almighty designed to uphold and golde the whole creation). This Divice Law was

व्रद्धा या इदमप्र आधीदेकमेव ...... तच्छ्रेयो स्यमत्यस्जत
 पर्म तदेत्यप्रस्य क्षत्रं यद्दर्भेस्तस्मादमान्यसे नास्ति ...: ।

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conceived as the supreme regulative principle of the Cosmic order of which the Laws of nature were only a part

This idea of Duerma can be traced as far beck est the Rigyede where it is eignified by the word Rits (EL) which coorse there in numerous places. "In its most general sense", says Griffith while commenting upon the torm, "the conception expressed by the word occup ind to some extent the place of natural and more! Law, fate, or the will of a Sopreme God!". Nay, Rita expressed a more braced and lottler conception. It was declared to be some benevolent eternal power pervading and guiding the Cosmic order. Its all-embracing character is thus described by a Vedio seer —"Born of waters kine truth and mountains, the Holy Law dwells in noblest places amid man, in trith."

रुपद्वरसद्वसधीमसद्द्या गोजा ऋतजा अदिजा ऋतं ।।

The redic people believed that this infallible principle governed the whole of the universe and made the lews of nature conform to its discipline. "By Law", says en inspired poet while identifying himself with Verone, the highest God of the Vedic pantheon, "I mede to flow the moisture—shedding waters" and set the heavon

<sup>1</sup> The Hymns of the Rigveda Vol 1, P. 2,

<sup>8</sup> Cf Ibid VIII 12 3 where rivers are said to flow by the ordinance of Law, & also Cf I, 124 3 lbid

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firm in the seat of order. By Law the son of Adit, Law-observer, has spread ebroad the world in three-fold measure".—

अहमपो अपिन्यमुक्षमाणा घारचं दिवं सदन ऋतस्य । कतेन पुनो अदिते कताबोत त्रिधातु प्रथयिद्वसूम<sup>।</sup> ॥

In response to the ordinance of Rita the rosy Dawn in their opinion, recurred day by day, the shining heavenly spheres took their regular rounds. Thus it is said of the Dawn—"Boru in the heavens, the Dawn hath revealed herielf in response to the Holy Law, and comes towards us noveling her majesty"—

ब्यु१पा भावो दिविजा कतेना ! विष्कृष्वाना महिमासमागात् ॥

It was the Law which laid a path for the Sun to traverse "For the hoard Sun," reads a Vedic hymn, "was seen a path more widely laid, the path of bely Law hath been maintained with rays."—

> अद्धिं गातुरुरेव बरायको । पन्या ऋतस्य सम्यस्त रहिमनिः ॥

Rita was conceived to be the Law working for the good of the universe. It was thought "By Law the

<sup>1</sup> B. V. IV. 42. 4.

<sup>3.</sup> R. V. VII. 75 1.

<sup>27</sup> 

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Adityas stand secure, and Soma chings to his piece in hoaveo 1" By going along the path of Rita S'arama-'the pointer of Dawn'-was believed to have found out the lost cows of gods. or Indra was said to have destroyed Vala, his demonio foe dwelling in the monntains. But what was this straight or the right path? It was the path of righteonaness of truth untrodden by the worked " Thus this Law of Rits was finally looked upon as the Law of truth or the great Moral Law wherehy like the Asha-the Avestan counter part of Rita- the world grows and prospers " Later on Rita was actually identified with Truth for it was thought by Law they came to Truthe", and truth on its part in the days of the Unenishade came to be interpreted as Dharms.

The soveral duties which the andividuals belonging to the four fold division of society were called upon to perform wore believed to have been assigned by Dharma to realise its own purpose a s to seemre the stability of

R V X. 85 1

<sup>3</sup> R V X 188 1

V 1X 74 6

<sup>5</sup> Maximuller, Hibbert Lectures P 257 6 R. V VII. 56

<sup>7</sup> Vide foot note on page 25 of this essay.

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the universal order. The falfilment of the obligations imposed by Bharma agen every member of the social order was supposed to achieve what the Gita calls "Loka-sangraha 1" or the splidgrity of society, and " hence in view of promoting its well-being it was incombant acon everybody to discharge such duties as fell to his lot. For instance, a person who was destined to he a soldier had to perform his duties as sanctioned and imposed by Dharma, or again a person who was born to be a doctor was necessarily obliged to perform bis duties as a doctor. Even so a persoo who was born to the raval office was inevitably compelled to do his duties as prescribed by Dharma. The latringement of this inexorable Law by any person in the society, whether a priace or a peasant, was supposed to be anavoidably followed by Diviae retribation in one form or the other, siace it was thought to be working as rigorously as the knows law of Nature. Thus it will be seen that the aucient Hinda Polity recognises the abstract Dharma as belag over and above the king and the people bolding both of them equally responsible for its observance.

It is note-worthy that the idea of Dharma comes in close proximity with the idea of State in Europe to .

III, 20.

अन्तर्वाताल कार्य कार्

which the rulers and the ruled alike are responsible.
The fundamental ideas underlying the Dharms and the
State are ultimately the same. This can be shown as
follows—

- (1) Dharma in the abstract is an entity which is both different from and above the King and the people and which is based on Universal weal. Similarly the Stale in the abstract is also an entity which is both different from and above the executive aften of a particular state and its people and which in addition is based on public weal. (Universal weal is concerned with the welfare of all beings, whereas public weal exclusively connotes the good of humanity alone with reference to a territorial public.
- (11) The Law of Dharma as embodied in the codes of conduct (Dharmas'astra) is supposed to be backed up by the power control in the Almighty and he candicaive to universal weal in the same way the Law of the State as embodied in its constitution in thought of as being backed up by the power or what is technically known as the 'Sovereignty' of the people and is conductor to public weal These respective Laws are intended to he enforced.

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for the preservation and progress of the nniverse and the peeple respectively. Thus being a means to au end they are subject to alteration with the changes in the ideas of universal and nublic weal.

(m) Universal weal means what is understood to be such by the best minds whose idealism and prestige scene for them a large following in any particular country at any particular time in the course of its bistory. In like manner public weal alen means in any state what is understood to be such by the best minds whose idealism and prestige secure for them a large following in that particular state at any particular time in the course of its history

With the variation in the values of things the ides of in inversal west indergoes a necessary change. So it is natural that its conception also should vary from sector age. In India where all questions of course organisation have always been thought of in terms of universal west, we find, that in the Vedio age, it was supposed to consist in the worship of personlined Nature in its various aspects. That at the time of the Bribmanas, when the Vedio gods lost all their importance, universal west was sought in the performance of sacrifices, that is the Upanithadic period the worship and meditation of

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the products of the minds of the best thinkers of that particular age and place, which they want to implant on the minds of the mass of the people. The latter are very easily converted to the ideals of the former since as the Gita says.—

> मयदावरति अष्टरतत्तदेवतरो जनः । स यस्प्रमाणं कुरुते स्रोकस्तदशुवर्वते ॥ (III. 24.)

"Whatseever the superior man does, that alone is done by others. What he specifies es right, that the people follow". The similarity between the two concepts does not stop here only for with a momenta' consideration it will be perceived that the one merges completely into the other: what we call public weel is a part and parcel of universal weal since as hes already heen observed, the former is concerned with humanity alone, whereas the latter encompasses within its fold the whole of the inniverse, including, it is needless to add, markind also. It will be seen, therefore, that though working on different plans, the indian and European thickers, have been in reality, seeking to achieve the same noble ideals in their own peccliar ways.

The piety of the sovereign and the veneration in which he held Dharma the sacred Law, often prevented

him from launching upon activities which were accepted as sinful. It is not difficult to imagine the existence of God fearing kings in ancient India when Dharma held its full sway over the minds of the people. We learn from the Upaniebads and the Erice that there were such kings as Janaka. As wapati Râma Yudbisthira ets who tried their utmost to bring down the ideals of Dharma to the practical plain.

# The instinct of Self-preservation -

The physical limitation proceeded from the instinct of self preservation. The king in appent India lived and moved among the people and hence by virtue of his peculiar situation he could not very much mattreat them which if effected would endanger his very life. More over in those days of fierce competition when petty fendatory princes actuated by ambition rivalled with one another for power and extension of their dominions, every king expected at every moment an external attack from his enemy or enemies and against such an invasion the only sure protection or the chiefd was the good will and lovalty of his subjects which he always strove to procure The smallness of the state also very easily nonduced to maintain the uniformity of public opinion which if floated by the monarch would entail an univer sal and speedy excitement resulting in the general opt hreak And hence it was that the voice of the people

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carried some weight with the kings especially in such cases as the ligitalistic of the heir apparent. We learn from the Râmâyana that Râma was consecrated as the Yuwaraja at the wishes of the people. There we are told, that enamoured of Râma's princely qualities all the citizens of the state resolved that he should be appointed as the Yuwaraja. With this decision they all waited upon Dayaratha and said.—

# स राम युवराजानमभिषिचस्व पार्थिव । इच्छामो हि महाबाहु रघुकीर महाबलम् ॥

'Convecrate Ob King Râma as the Yuwarâjs for we was the valuat and the powerful one for that office? The good old king woodering for a moment at this sudden development juyfully welcomed the proposal and lost na time in passing orders for the preparations of his lavourite son's installation occerning. It is worthy of note that the king was beside bimself with joy knowing that the people themselves were interested in having Râma as their crowned prime 'Agine opposite was said to have been toe case with king Pratipa of Udyoga parwan. The aged monarch yudded to the popular voice though with great reductance in not having Devapi

- 1 Ayodhya Kanda
  - अहोऽस्मि परमप्रीत प्रभावधातुलो मम । यन्मे सम प्रिय पुत्र यौवराजस्थाभिष्ठत ॥ Ibid

his eldest and the virtuous son as their Yuvarâjs since in the opinion of his people he was unfit to hold the reins of government as be anffered from a skin desease. Sagara also followed the same course. He was compolled to exile Asamanjas his eldest son at the desire of his people who were very much distressed at the devillah bobby of the prince of drowning their children in the river S'arayu (S'âuti-Parvan). Thus it was that abuses of royal power were enrhed by these two restrictions.

In view of these safe guards against despotism the position of kings in accient India must not not been quite so envisible. Any dutiful roler of those times must have felt like Chaudragupta of the Mudrârâksbasa when he easy --

राज्य हि नाम राजधमानुशतिपरस्य ऋपतेमहद्गीतिस्थानम् । कृतः ।

परार्षांतुष्टान रहयति चृप स्वार्धेपरता । परिव्यक्तस्य पौ नियतसययायौ क्षितिपति ॥ परार्थेयेत्स्वार्थास्भमतत्तरो हन्त परवान् । परायत्त श्रीते कथमित्र रख वात्त पुरुष <sup>1</sup>॥

The state indeed is a great source of anx ety to the

S Akuntala Act V 6

<sup>1</sup> Mudrárákakasa Act III 4 Cf Ibid Act III, 5 and also नातिश्रमापनयनाय यथा श्रमाय ६ राज्य स्वहस्तपुत्रज्दिनातपुत्रम् ॥

### THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARHY

king who conscientiously applies himself to the duties of his royal office. For, he has to forego his own interests in achieving those of others, as (otherwise), the epithes of the protector of the Earth (Riferie) would certainly toro out bogus, devoid of its proper composition. If therefore, he prefers the interests of others to his own, alsa, (then), he is a slave, and how can one that is a slave others taste (the fruit of) personal enjoyment?"

Besides, often inspired by the Patriarchal ideal the king in account India must have toiled for the realisation of one ammediate goal - the welfare of the achievation that is a most in the Rümfyana in that famous people is brought out in the Rümfyana in that famous neident of Rüms's shandoument of Sita'. The achievation their part must have stood equal to the occasion by offering undivided feelty and solmission to their henevolent protectors. No wonder that centuries afterwards, Külidâss, the princely post of India, paid an elequent tribute to such a grand Kingly ideal in these immortal lines.

खसुखनिरभिलाप विद्यसे छोक्डेतो । प्रतिदिनसम्बद्धा ते स्तिरविविद्याः

आराधनाय सेवस्य मञ्जलो नास्ति मे ध्यथा 🏗 🛭 R Act I

<sup>1</sup> This lofty sentiment has been very beautifully expressed by the Rama of Bharabhuti ा स्तेह द्यां च सोहब च बदि वा जानवीयपि।

अनुभवति हि मूर्भो पादपस्तीवमुध्यं । शमयति परिताप छायया संधितानाम् ॥

नियमयसि विवार्गप्रस्थितात्तरण्डः । प्रशमयसि विवार करेंगसे रक्षणाय ॥ अतनुषु विभवेषु शात्य सन्तु नाम । स्वयि तु परिसमासे बन्धुकृत्यं प्रजानाम् ॥

We may wenture to suggest in this context that during that long period which immediately succeeds the composition of the Brahmanss and terminates with the invesion of Alexander, the political like of India might have been more or less characterised by stable and undespotic sperturents.

<sup>1.</sup> Sakuntalam. Act V. Sls 7-8.

<sup>2.</sup> with the exception of the great Mahabharata war.

# 111

# THE CONCEPTION OF HINDU MONARCHY (Gonta)

Ancient Hindu monarchy not constitutional or hunted. No recognition of Civil Laberty in the modern sense of the term That edging not subservant to the will of the people - And hance not their servant - Ancient Indian Kingship a benevolent institutionalis characterities - Our line of angulty in the Arthus's sira of Manhyla

In view of the limitations of Dharms and the instinct of self-preservation on royal suthority the kings in nuclent fulia hed to become restrained in its carcine. This feet tended to make the monarchy of the times a benevolent institution. It could hardly be a limited or constitutional monarchy as scholars his Jayasuch, Brueries and others are luctured to believe. The former was assuredly dirested of the democratio implications of the latter. For in the final place, the accident Hindu polity never recognized "Civil Liberty"—one of the most assential requisites of constitutions il monarchy and also essential requisites of constitutions il monarchy and also discussed as a constitution of the most assential requisites of constitutions il monarchy. That is one sylvation of the most assential requisites of constitutions il monarchy? That is to say it attempted to eafe-guard the "rights" of an individual only against his fellow-beings and not against the highest executive suthority of the land, the king himself. This

is borne out by the fact that while the ancient politicel thinkers and law givers of India mede full provisions to protect the rights of an individual against the sucronchments of another individual, they refrained from making each legal arrangements to safe-guard his rights against the King for the State Of course in order to prevent the King from violating the Dharma of from erring in the discharge of his diffics, the authors of the Dharma-astrata and the Artha-Satra schoole pre arribed certain acts of atonoment exclusively for the royal person, but these were entirely expiatory penalties and hence religious in their spirit. For instence, Vasistha says:

कृच्छ्मदण्ड्यदण्डने पुशेहित । त्रिरानं राजा'॥

'When a sinless person is punsished the Parchita shall undergo self-immolistion, and the King shall (observe fast) for three days.' Maon lays down that a king should be fined a thousand Kārishāpanas where an ordinary person is fined but one Pans.' "When the king", observes Kantilys, "punsibes an innocent man be shall dedicate to God Varons, a fine amounting to thirty times the suipst imposition, by throwing it into water and this amount he shall afterwards distribute among Brahmanas". Being then pure expisitions these projections

<sup>1</sup> XIX 42 43

<sup>3</sup> Arthas astra P. 236. Manu also suggests the same method of distributing the proceeds of such fines. See IX. 244

sions therefore, cannot be treated as constitutional weapons calculated to protect the fegitimate rights of the subjects against the king. So if at all the ancient Hindin Polity ever took edgessance of 'Civil Luberty', it did so in a very restricted eense and a narrow conception of Civil Luberty is surely, no mark of constitutional monarchy

In the second place, the king was viewed as deriving his authority from Dharma and not from the people. For, according to the theory of origin of Kingship which we examined in the last shapter; the king was thought to have been specially created by the Divine will for the preservation in peace and under in the world of men. In virtue of this ninque position which the King enjoyed, his authority was conceived as inviolable and his person as being beyond the control of ell human regulative agencies, and as such he was locked upon as the eymhol of Dharma, or the image of God and hence it was that he was often compared to or identified with the Supreme Being.

This theory of his Divine creation and the belief in his unimpeachable prowess was not a myth, not a figment, but a living reality to the people of ancient India whose minds were awayed by a attong sense of Dharma—that all-pervading Sacred Law. What people

thought and felt shout the mattataca of Kungsbip was simply given expression to both by Manu and the author of the 6'anti parvan. This to our mind appears to have been tha true position of these authors who have been but falsely compared to the Duropean Fathers of the Middle Ages as being the Advocates of absolutism'.

But though high the royal office was not regardless of responsibility. The failure to discharge his duties enjoued upon him by Dharma was supposed to bring about his total destruction. The king in auccout India

Jaysswal aseme to think that Blann a theory was hie own invention when he says " For this theory the anthor found no direct support in earlier literature We do not subsembe to the view of the learned scholar For this theory is not only found in Mann but it occurs also in the Mahababharata more or less in the same words (C/ Sintl XIV) But this does not mean that one is the borrower of the other Probably both of them derived it from some common actives for as Dr Kalidas Nag ebserves. They appear to have come from that mysterious source of Hindu wisdom - Oral tradition which transmitted a vast collection of tloating truth long before the schools and the ( Diplomatic Thaoriss of the Hindne ) And this statement stands confirmed when wa find that the conception of the divinity of the King to as old as the Yedas For as we referred already in the last chapter the serms of the theory appear in the Eigreda, the Atheryanaveda [ HI - 3. HL 4. IV '2) and also in the Brahmanas In the face of this great antiquity of the theory, it is aboutd to believe that it was Mann a fabrication to 'preach perfact absolutism'.

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was normally absolute But when his absolutism was carried to its extremity he fell a victim to the righteous indignation of an oppressed people. This however should not he thought of as having any democratic significance as after the removal of the tyrangical ruler be was merely to be replaced by another who became an absolute monarch like his predecessor. This concerted action of the people against their oppressor was nothing more than a manufest demonstration of that spirit of defiance which is equally innate in man and the creatures of the lower world and as such it could not be called a violent popular gestore born of a political motive. It was the instinct of revolt in men which naturally reacted against the autogratic actions of the tyrant. What we mean here is that the people in ancient India resorted to tyrannicide not actuated by the consciousnes that the delinquent ruler infraged on their legitimate rights, but impelled by some unknown force which was believed to operate against the monarch the moment he violated the Dharma In other words it was this inexorable Dharma which was concieved to bring absolute ruin upon him for having disregarded its dictates This idea is clearly

brought out by Mann While describing the potency of Denda — the visible manifestation of Dherme! — be observes —

दण्डो हि सुमहत्तेजो दुर्घरबाकृतारमभिः । धर्माद्विचलित हन्ति नृषमेव सवान्यवम् ॥

'The mighty and majestic Dande, which is difficult for the wicked to wield, emothers the King, awarving from (too path of ) Dherma, together with his family ". Yens the great tyrant of the Mahābhārata was deposed and killed since he guervously sinued against Dharma. Similar was conceived to have been the case with Nahus'a and Duryodhana. What we want to point unt here is that it was Dharma and not the people which was considered to punish' an erring monarch. This belief in the people in the existence of some vindicative supermundance power unmiratably indicates that [Kingship was looked upon as a trust not from the people in from God which fact proves that the King was amonable unly to the will of God and not to that of the people

दण्ड सुप्तपु जागर्ति दण्डं धर्म विदुर्वधा 11 Ibid 18.

The king in ancient India was not responsible to the people beannes he was never looked tipon as their servant. The conception of the king as a slave of the people, was a principle quite unknown to the political thought of encient India as indologists like Banerjee Jayaewal, Sarkar and othere are inclined to believe. They have their conclusions on such passages as well as the conclusions of such passages as well. They have the report of the results of the confidence of the co

श्वमागमृत्या दास्यावे प्रज्ञाना च नृपः कृतः । वद्मणा स्थामिस्पस्त पालनार्थे हि सर्वदाः ॥

saying that the taxes were regarded as the 'Wager' of the King for the services rendered to the state. Of course the taxes, in the opinion of the accient Hindus, formed the 'reward'\* or remnueration, and not the 'wages' of the king as is generally believed. But drawing remnueration from the people on the part of the King did not necessarily imply his corresponding responsibility to them. His position was just like a government servant who regularly receives his salary from the

<sup>1</sup> Says Dr. Baneques" the conception of the King as the servant of the State was one of the barlo prunciples of political thought in Ameent Indas"—Public Administration in Ameent Indas p 73 — Vide PP 174-176 in Peof. Sarkar s "The Political Institution of A Theories of the Hindus.

<sup>4.</sup> Bandhyans I .Q.1 3 Sakraniti -- I 188.

<sup>4.</sup> Narada XVIII 48

public treasury but is in no way responsible to the officers of the treesury. The king was conceived to have been eppointed by God to protect the people and as such wes directly responsible to Him for whatever he did. As their gnardian, the subjects were ordained to meintein the King by a reenlar contribution of a fixed shere of their income." Bays Gantama • राजी यत्रियानं ..... तदक्षण-चारित्रात्1- "For his duty of protection the king shall be given the Bali taxes". The king was authorised by Dharma to exact the taxes from the people, in return for the services of promoting the safety and prosperity of his subjects and so for fulfilling bis duty to achieve the solidarity and progress of the Holyarae. Thus accord. ing to the ancient Hindu polity the (King was primarily the servant of God and as such was remunerated by his Master who enjoined upon the people to pay their common henefactor a certain share of the produce. So the revenue formed the royal privilege or the right and not the wages as has been generally interpreted. To annual their thesis that in ancient India the taxes were regarded as the wages of the king, the following verse from S'nkraniti is invariably quoted by these scholars --

> स्वभागमृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजाना च रूप रूत । ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पाळनार्थे हि सर्वदा ॥

<sup>1.</sup> Gautama X. 24 and 28.

appointed by God, and in the second place, he was not bound by any conditions before he accepted the royal office. Whatever things the people offered to Manu were offered by way of indnesment and not by way of conditions. For the theory definitely maintains that he was at first unwilling to agree to the proposal of taking the responsibility of protecting the people on his own shouldors but when he was entired by valuable prosents he at coce took charge of the office. So according to the theory, the first king of mankind as specified by God accorted his office unconditionally and that means without any contract which ou its part implies that he was in no way bound to the people; He was never considered as their servant firstly because, he was appointed by God to protect them, and secondly because, he was himself a semi divine being and as such was beyond the jurisdiction of man. These are all the implications of the theory. Even this theory therefore does not concieve of the soveriegn as a slave of the anbjects. In ascribing the appointment of Maon to the Divine will it implicitly assumes that the king is ultimately answerable to God-In this connection we cannot but take note of the Partuna or the coronation nath which was first said to

प्रतिक्षां चाधिरोहस्य मनसः कमेणा गिरा । पालविष्याम्यहं भीम बद्धा स्वेव चासकृत् ॥ यक्षात्रयमा ना युक्ता दण्डनीतम्बयाभय । तमश्रष्टं करिष्यानि स्ववसी च क्याचन ॥

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have been administered to Pritbu, the successor of Vens, the appressive soveriegn of the Mahähhärsts. According Jayaswal the oath is a distinct indication of the existence of the idea of a contract at the base of the Hindu conception of Kingsbip, since by pronouncing it the king, before ascending the throne, promises his faithfulness to the law established and hie subservieucy to the will ofthe people. But it es all the oath can be called a "contract", it is a contract not between the ruler and the ruled but between him and the Dharms. For the king ewears hie loyalty and to the people but to Dharms when he repeats:—

# बधानधर्मी मीरबुद्धा दण्डनीतिन्यपाश्रयः । समराह करिष्यामि स्ववधी म कदाचन ॥

"In conformity with the science of government, I shall, without reservation, observe Dharma as its enumented here by ethnics and shell never be arbitrary", By declaring I shall never be arbitrary, be evidently means that he would never set in his own accord without any reference to Dharma. Again, the each is to be administered to the would-be-lying by the appresentatives of spiritual power. Eing Prittin in the Ministhrata was made to take the vow by the god and sages, in the Rimsyrna is was Vasshiha who administered the oath to Rims, and in subsequent times, as is evident from history, the same tradition was invariably followed by all the

kings. The very fact that the vow is administered to the roler by spiritual authorities and not by (the roprecontaines oi) the people, indicates with pretty certainty that the conditions constituting the oath are primarily proposed by Dharms and consequently it follows that the rules is niturately responsible to it only for its observance.

As to Kantilya, he mestions two theories, one the so called 'Contract' theory' of the Mahibhurata and the other the Divine theory'. But we cannot say with 'Dr. Banerjee that Kantilya' 'is a believer in the human creation of the state.'

े मास्यत्यायाभिम्या प्रचा मतुं वेशस्त्रतं राजानं चिकिरे । भान्य-पद्भागं पण्यदशभागं दिएवं चान्य भानधेयं प्रकरणयामाष्टुः । तेन भूता राजानः प्रजानां शोगदेवरहा ।

"Opposed by anachy, the people made Varanavata Manuther Ming They fixed one suith of the produce and one shuth of merchandise in cash, as his remneration. With this much as their salary the hings secure the safety and prosparity of the people".

१ इन्द्रयमस्यानमेतत् । राजानः प्रत्यक्षहेडप्रसादाः । हानवमन्य-मानान्दैनेऽपि दण्डः स्पृशति । तस्यादाजानो नावमन्तन्याः ।

<sup>&</sup>quot;This (s. e. Royalty) is the seat of Indra and Yama. Kings are anger and favour meanate. Even divine punishment descends on those who disragard them. And hence the kings should mere be disobered.

If it be argued that he is the opholder of this theory it can equally be contended that he believes in the conception of the divine creatum of the king. This view looks more plausible, when we remember that Kantilya is the greatest advocate of hereditary monarchy. But to our mind it appears that he noither believes the one out the other. Being thoroughly a practical politician be exclosively economics himself with the art of governing the stete, and not with the pedantic speculations over its origin. The citation of hoth these views is nothing more than a typical Kantilyan expediency of winding over the disefficied elements in the kingdom by arguments and counter-arguments advanced through the spies of the king before an assemblage of people. Beyond it the passages in question signify nothing else.\*

From the shove discussion we arrived at the following conclusions, firstly, that in openent India, civil liberty was recognised in a very limited sense of the state affirming protection to its subjects as against other individuals and secondly that the avereign was regarded as being ultimately responsible to God. These two main features of the monarchical switching of the times clearly show that the king, in theory at least, exercised noqualitied apthority and as far as his kingdom was

The very context in which the theories are cited clearly shows that hapillys could not have thought seriously as to their validity

concerned, there was no single human agency which could question him. But as we saw in the preceding chapter, he abstained from growing shednite, for his power was practically circommerciald by the conventional limitations of Dharma and the instinct of self-preservation. These two often kept bim within the bounds of moderation and thus made his rule one of enlightened despotism.

The following were its most outstanding characteristies.—

- (i) The king was the highest executive authority in the state.
- His duties mainly consisted of taking protective measures.
- (iii) He enjoyed absolute sovereignty and hence provided a very narrow scope for the enjoiment of Civil Liberty.
- (iv) His power however was restricted by two (unconstitutional) huntations of Dharma and the instinct of self preservation.
  - (v) In its general nature the ancient Indian Kingship was benevolent.

Now it is admitted on all hands that Kautilya was the foremost exponent of the Ancient Indian State mail. We shall therefore, in the following pages, start an

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enquiry into the Arthas'astra of Kautilya, so as to determine to what extent, the Kautilyau conception of Kningship either conforms with or differs from the one which we discussed so far

We will carry our critical examination of the Arthae'satra in the light of the five broad characteristics of the Hindu monarchy which we have mentioned just above.

# A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE ARTHAS'ASTRA.

Royalty, the element of vital importance in the constiments of the State — King's relation to Dherma — The treining of the prince — Importance of Vinaya or discipline and continence — The facultiyan king advised to enjoy sentral pleasures with due moderation — The dutes of the king which mainly consist of taking disciplinary & protective measures with regard to the people and provide them — the every opportunity of reshirment the three ends of Immain surfaces.

Boyal oversegaty — King the fountess heed of all subortly, the various State-functionaries beings merely his deputies orested ont of his will—All the available natural resources claused in the name of the king — Ourl liberty very nerrowly recognized, individuals heing relocated from the encreachments of his folion individuals and the gort officials ex representing their own selves, and not from that of the royal person — The public of the state of the Artharstera on twested with his right of tarstion, of enforcing their will subser on internal or ordernal afters of the state, the hing menus the sole proprietion thereof

The checks—Keutitys as primarily an economic State—His understand of Datama to Attha — Though be believes in they efficacy of Datama, still as an archat upholder of the tends of the Arthas estra School, he thinks Dharma to be of secondary Importance — This shows the influence of Dharma on the mind to this king is getting weaker. — The king advance to identify his

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nierests with the people with a view to secure the stability of his govt — The character of the king the greatest barrier against despotiam.

# Importance of the King.

A great monarchest that Kautilya is, it is but natural that he should assent to the king the highest position in the state. Along with his predecessors Kautilya believes that the king is the saviour of a disorganised world. "In the absence of the king," he save, "exercising coercive authority, the strong would prevent the weak, but while backed up by him the latter would (easily) prevail over the former?"— कसीमानक है मतने उपरासाम । तेन उस ममनतीति। !

In his opinion, the presence of the king not only ensures the safety of the weak, but what is more it conduces to the healthy growth of the social order. For, he further observes—

# चतुर्वणीश्रमो छोको राज्ञा दण्डेन पाठित । खर्जमकर्माभिरतो वर्तते खेलु वर्तमु ॥

"The people with their four orders and stages, when protected by a king administering the law of chastisement, are kept on their proper path, being attentive to their respective dottes and professions." Hence it is that

<sup>1</sup> Page 9

<sup>2.</sup> P.9

the Swamin or the sovereign comes first in order of ment to the list of the seven constituent elements of the State — स्वाम्यमात्मजनपद्दुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतय.1 । This tabular arrangement our outbor justifies in a later obenter of the Artharfastra. There, while controverting the view of Bharadways who maintains that ministerial calamity is relatively more grave than what befalls the king, Kautilya says - मंत्रिपुरोहितादि भृत्यवर्गमध्यक्षप्रचार पुरुपद्रव्यव्यसन प्रतीकारमधन राजेन हरीति । ... ... ... खामी च सम्पन्न संसंपद्धि प्रकृतीस्सम्पादयति । स्वयं च यच्छील-स्तव्छीलाः प्रकृतयो भवन्ति । उत्पाने प्रमादे च तदायत्त्वात् । तस्कृद स्थानीयों हि खामीति । "The king alone makes the appointment of the prime minister, the High priest and other officials of the state uncluding several dapartments! apperintendents removes the troubles relating to army and finance, and takes measures conductee to their

राजानमुत्तिष्टमानमन्तिष्टन्ते भृत्या । प्रमाचन्तमनुप्रमाचान्ति ।

P. 321

<sup>1.</sup> P 257.

<sup>2</sup> Of also

सम्पादयत्यसम्पना प्रकृतीरात्मवाष्ट्रप । विष्टदाखानुष्टदाख प्रकृतीर्देन्त्यनारमवान् । P. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Cf.

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growth. ...... Moreover, an eccomplished monarch imparts his native excellences to the elements whetever obserseter he himself is, of that will be the statal catergories, for on him depend (their ) activity and inactivity. Therefore the Lord occupies the highest position (in the body politio)" The designation of royalty as the foremost element in the ingredients of the etate does not however, seem to have satisfied Kantilva. the arch monarchist of Ancient India. For he goes a eten further end regards it as meritable e factor in the formation of the state as the territory itself ( Cf. Timit-राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसक्षेप " i) and thus implies that it is de facto the state. It is no wonder therefore, that in his extreme splintende for the safety of the monarch he should devote four special chapters instructing the king how to take precautionary measures to shield his person against the secret workings of enemies, the vagaries of the princes, and the intrigues of the barem

# King and the Dharma.

Kantilya appears to believe with the exponents of the Dharmas'Astra school, that the king, though the lord

<sup>1.</sup> P. 325

<sup>2</sup> The chapters in question are—शाजपुनरक्षणम्, अवहद्धावरुद्धे-शति', निशान्तप्रणिधि-, मार्थ आरमरक्षितकम्.

of his people, is primarily subservient to Dharma - the abstract moral Law universal and eternal that guides and regulates the relations of men. The main drity that is imposed by Dharma on his royal office is the protec tion of the people. But it is secured only when the social order is kept unadolterated by obliging the members of the four divisions to perform their respective dutice sllotted to them by the Supreme Law If one were to observe one's own duties in life that act would surely lead one to beaven and steroity [खधमै स्वर्गायान-न्याय च 1] (this rule, it should be observed, is equally applicable to the king and his subjects). But if the king neglects to perform this duty then the world would go to rack and ruin. Thus Kantilys abserves तसातिक्री डोक-स्पकराद्रश्छियेत' I ' when it is violated the society would nertsh on account of the confusion ( of duties )" There fore according to Kautilya the royal duty or Pharma amounts to the obtainment of the stability of the social order which is tantamount to carrying out of the duty

<sup>1</sup> P 8 Cf सर्वानस्त्याय धर्मोऽय सर्वेषा वर्गेलिमिन स् ॥ The Nitisara of Kamandaka Ch II 33

and also श्रेयान्स्वधर्मी विगुण परधर्मास्वनुष्टितात् ! Out

<sup>2</sup> P 8 Cf also अस्याभावे तु लोकोड्य संकरावाशमामुयात्॥ Nillears (I 23.

## THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

imposed by the Supreme Dharma. In this way implioilly Kautilya conceives the king to be equally subject to the laws of Dharma along with his people

# Education of the king

To qualify humself for such an office which is the highest in the realm Kauhis a would require of the king designate to be endowed with all passible moral and cultural attainments. Hence the author, at the very beguing of his work, is seen taking great pains at challing out a regular course of training for the prince to undergo.

According to Kautilya the supreme object of the state appears to be the realisation of the threefold end human existence on the part of its subjects. This can only be gained through the proper exercise of the authority of punishment vested in the king. "Skillind exercise," says Kartilya. "of the concrive power (danda) endowes the people with virtue results and enjoyment"— স্থাবিয়াবাৰণীয়া বিশ্বত স্থান নাৰ্থিকানিবীনাৰানি (বিশ্বত স্থান নাৰ্থকানিবীনাৰানি (বিশ্বত স্থান নাৰ্থকানিবীনাৰানি (বিশ্বত স্থান নাৰ্থকানিবীনাৰানি (বিশ্বত স্থান) that chastens the barabness of Danda which when subdued or backed up by Vinaya becomes capable of ensuring the safety and prespectly of living beings— বিশ্বত স্থানীয়া বিশ্বত স্থানীয়

<sup>1</sup> P. 9

<sup>2.</sup> P 10

But discipline on its park is dependent on fearing (Vidyå) [तन्मुट्यवान्धित्वस्यः] and benne a king should first of all go through a proper course of education and discipline

Ic his childhood the prince shall be taught writing and arithmetic After the Upanavana ceremony he shall learn the triple Vedas and the science of Logic noder the guidance of well-wersed teachers the science of Economies (Varia) under different superintendents of government departments and the science of governance under professors and practical politiciaus (बत्तप्रयोक्तभ्य ) When a worth, the names shall duly get himself married sod with a view to train bimself more shall always associate himself with the veterans of state craft. But what is most important of all is that he shall practice salf control or what is called the restraint of the organs of sense espec at is said that self mastery is the means for the (auccessful) atta nmeet of learning aod discipline [विद्यादिनयहेतुन्सिन्द्रयञ्जय 4] Kautilya lays very great stress on this particular aspect of a king s character when he declares -- तिद्वरुद्धातिस्वर्यन्द्रियद्यातुर्न्तोऽपि राजा सहो। जिस्हमति 3 A kige having his conduct quite reverse to the one who has restrained his senses and with his

<sup>1</sup> P 10

<sup>2</sup> P 11

<sup>3</sup> P 11

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passions uccoolrolled even though possessed of a wide Empire (reaching the four quarters— बाहुरन्तोऽपि) perishes forthwith " 1

Cultivating the art of self mastery the king to the annon of Chanskys shall pever novet women and wealth pertaming to othere He shall avoid excessive eleep, ootroth and association with things harmful shall also keep himself away from dealings (eqqEIII) which tovolve corighteconuess and calamity. Here it should not be surmised that by emphasistor sali cootrol Kautilya teaches a life of complete absteneoce for the king just after the fashioo of Plato his Greek contemporary According to him material toys have their owo place and importance to a mao's life. It is the life of excesarve undulgence or extreme ascelians that meets with downright condemostico at his hands. He thinks but rightly that a king or a man in general should enjoy earthly happiness without transgressing the houngs of propriety or in other words, without popardising the

Barbaspatya Arthas astra

<sup>1</sup> This point has been emphasized by all the law-givers and political thinkers of sument India Even Brahaspati the greatest exponent of the Redouxto school, appears to have recogn sed the value of continence with reference to the sovereign According to him it seems to be the essential royal requisite. Thus he says 's greatest Tayla' 71 1

interests of Dharma and Artha, Thus he observes :— धर्मापाशिदयोभन काम धेवेत । न निरम्बक्स्यात् । समं वा त्रियमन्योन-न्यावन्यम् । एको दारमाधेवितो धर्माप्रकामानामात्मानमितरा च पीदयत्ति ।

"A King shall nover indings in sensoral empoyment to the destriment of Dharma and Artha. He shall never be devoid of pleasure. Or he shall equally stend to the triple ends which follow each other in succession. For, if of virtue, wealth and enjoyment, any one is inordinately pursued, it will become injurious to itself and the ramaning two.". Another thing Kautijia wests to impress apon the mind of the king is the importance of exertion. "It is exertion or industriousness", says be, "which is mainly responsible for bringing in new acquisitions and prosperity to the lung." Equivarient springlar exercises." I lence, the king being the chief mainstay or the visit life of the body-politic, should be always alert and energesis for otherwise according to Kautijas the whole

<sup>1.</sup> P. 12 Cf.

सेवेत विषयान्हाले सुरखा तरपता वजी । सुखं दि फलमर्थस्य तित्ररीय दवा श्रिय ॥ ४९ ॥ धर्माद्यीऽर्धतः कामः कामास्युक्तकाद्य । ' आसार्य दृश्ति तौं दृखा युष्ट्या यो च नियेवते । ५१ ॥

Kamanands, Ch 1.

system would become stagmant and poisonous. He says— राजानसृत्तिग्रमानसमृत्तिग्रन्ते एसा. । प्रमायन्तमनुप्रमायन्ति । कर्मोणि वास अस्यन्ति । द्विपद्धिमानसंधीयते । तस्यद्ध्यानमात्मन कुर्वात । "If a king is industried his subjects will also be industriaus. If he is indelent, they will not only become indocent but will also hamper (Lite est ) his projects and (this) he will be are powered by his enemies. Hence he shall be (always) overgebte ". In a later chapter therefore while enumerating the excellences of a king a Kautilya counts upon 'zeal' (महासाई!) and 'slertness'

1, P 37, also Cf

अनुत्याने भुवो नाश प्राप्तस्यानागतस्य च । प्राप्तते कतमुत्यानाह्रमतः चार्थसंपदम् ॥

9 The following are the chief possessions of a king, which according to Kautilya would enable him to properly perform the duties of the Siste ----

"Noble hirth, non fatalistic burn of mind, valour, ability to see through the ayes of aged persons lova of virtue and truth, streightforwardness, gratefulness comprehensiveness of outlook enthusiasm, promptitude resoluteness of spirit, love for duou pline, eharp intellect, a strong memory and mind, a well built stiture, versalitty ability to cooler rewards and inflier punish ments, espablity to guard against dangers, dignity, fore-sight, readiness to avail most self of apportunities, resourcedniness, resolute more resson, anger, greed, and unto here vices, a beaming counternace, and the observance of traditional usages and customs."

PP 257-258

(efficient as the forement qualities of a king. Thus beving equipped himself with moral and cultural aducation the king shall discharge the following duties of the Stote —

- (i) Protection of life and property of the subjects, especially of the weak against the tyronny of the strong. In fact according to Koutilya as according to his predocessors the King is primarily designed to put an end to the 'Masthyanpayar or that condition where the weak are oppressed by the strong [6] ৰাজীয়াৰতে হি মন্ত্ৰ কৃষ্ণবাদানি ' P 9, and also 6' আছোলবাদানিয়া সভা মন্ত্ৰ বিধান কৰিব ! ৮, 22 }
- (ii) To make the people realise the three cuds of worldly existence namely, Dharma Artha and Rāws hy establishing them in the observance of their respective duties in life. But this is assured only when he wields the law of posishment in a reasonable manner (gविद्यात प्रणीतो द्वि एक प्रजा प्रमापकार्ययोजनाति । Loyalty to their duties again would lead them to a brighter existence over after death for it is said. 'One's own duty leads one to Heaven

<sup>1</sup> P9

#### THE ARTHAS ASTRA OF KAUTHYA

and eternity- सम्बोध्यवीयानस्याय च. Violation of duty would entail confesion which in its tfalo would bring in the disjotogration of society, "Hence" observes Kantilya, "the king should not cause the people to swerve from their duties for one who unholds one's own duty becomes happy here and bereafter -तसारस्वधर्म भूताना राजा न व्यभिनारवेत स्वधमें संदर्धानी हि प्रेत्य चेह च नन्दति। ॥

(m) To deal out instice in strict conformity to the principles of equity by poursbing the offenders and redressing the wrongs done to the unnoreat. The king is to mete out poorshment to the wicked by mesos of Danda on which. according to Kaptilya, depend the coorse of worldly life - तस्यामायत्तालोकयात्रा 1 One ought to be strictly impartial in making a proper use of Danda which so need becomes all - powerfol. Savs Kautilya '---

> दण्डो हि केवलो लोक पर चेमं च रक्षति । राज्ञा पत्रे च रात्रा च संयादेग्य सम धत । ॥

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dands alone, if wielded by a king with equity and in proportion to the crime committed,

equalty over his son and his enemy is capable of scenning this and the next world." So power ful is Dharma or justice. It not only serves to sustain the two worlds, but is also instrumental in taking the king to a brighter existence as Kautilya further remarks:

"The observance of the duty of the king which consists in protecting the subjects with justice leads him to beaven" — राष्ट्र स्वपमेह्ह्यकीय प्रजा धर्मेण रक्षितु ।

(iv) To offer reliaf to the decrept, old and the indisent Kautiya seems to have regarded the king quite in the manner of the Dharman Sattas, as the guardian of the helpless and of orphans. And hence it is that he urges upon the king either to feed them or to provide them with work it necessary. Thus he says:—মাজহুৱ-ভ্যাধিবভাৱনাৰ্থাৰ বাবা বিশ্ববাৰ্থ । হিৰোমভাৱৰি সমাবাৰ্থাৰ স্থান, 13 "The king shall leed the (parentless) children, the aged, the distressed and the helpless. He shall also maintain the forform women and the children horn of them". Assin, it is no he king to grant concessions.

<sup>1.</sup> P 150

<sup>2.</sup> P 47.

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to the destricte and the wretched where necessary. (For instance Kantilya directs the state to provide them with a free passage while crossing the rivers, iskes etc., and in another place be positively colours upon the king to give precedence to the plaints of the liftleted and the needy along with the privileged classes, excepting such cases as domand argung and opeedy settlement). Further-more, the king is in duty bound to belp such women of some social position as are rendered helpless through adverse circumstances, and thus are compelled to work for their subsistence, by providing them with such work as is suitable to their status and strength?.

मुत्रामस्त्र यु. ॥ 

2 १८ : उपस्थानगतः कार्योधिनामहारामें वे कार्यतः । .....

......तसाट्वताश्रमभूषण्डश्रीतियषशुपुण्यस्थानाना बालवृद्ध-ध्याधितव्यवन्यनायाना श्रीणां च क्रथेण धार्थाणि पर्वेत् । हार्थ-गीरवादास्यविकवदीन दा ।

P. 89

८/- ब्राह्मणप्रजीजतबारुष्ट्रदृश्याधितशासनगर्भिण्यो नावाध्यक्ष-मुत्रामिस्तरेषुः ॥

<sup>3</sup> Thus, in the chapter on "Sutradhyateha", Kantilya instructs the king to help such women with the work of carding and wearing. Vide p. 114

- (v) To promote agriculture by supplying the needs of cultivators and rendering them all sort of active assistance.<sup>3</sup>
- (vi) To take emergoncy measures in times of drought and thus to save the people from its har rowing concemitants According to Kautilya as a precautionary measure to prevent famuse the king shall keep in reserve half of the stock of royal food atoff gathered either from the crown lands or the tarce (Cf নিরাম্নাযুক্ত আৰু ব্যাল হ্যাকৃতি PS).

<sup>1</sup> Vide the chapter on 'Janapadanives a' where the king is advised to help the passants by offering them the remission of taxes and providing them with grain and cettle.

<sup>2</sup> To alterate the inteentty of Lamines the hing is to act as follows - 'D throng dearth he may oblige (the aposite by bestowing seeds and sorns or by providing; them with famine-relied won't or may either dots and or distribute (the toyal food stuffs), or may seed them away to another part (of his hingdom?) He may seed the assistance of his allies or emission late the rich or tap that hoseidings. Or he may migrate with all his subjects to another a district which has yielded good more or comparties reactive that to the see shore or to the hand of the lakes or rivers. He may introduces a fresh plantition of oorns vegatishles, roots and farinis in the trigical earses or may undertake the hunting of dear, beasts wild animats, and the tab.

#### THE ARTHAS ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

Besides these regular duties, the king is called upon to maintain and encourage the S'rotriyas, Brāhmaņas, and the students in their religious pursuits.

From the views at Kantilya an regal daties as given above, it seems that he primarily looks upon the king as the guardian of his enbjects. He appears to conceive of the essence of rayal daties as comprising in the protective and disciplinary measures to be taken for the solidarity and progress of the community committed to his care, by offering all possible appartaments to its individuals for the attainment of the three 'Parushārthas'.

## ROYAL SOVEREIGNTY.

We shall discuss the ecope and nature of the powers of the Kantiliyan severeign under the following three headings:—

- (at King and the innetionaries of the state
- (h) State monopoly of forests, mines wine, and salt.
- (o) King and the people.
- (a) Kung and the functionerses of the state :— The sovening, according to Kauthya as the embodiment of all authority The various dignitaries of the state like the ministers, the commander in-chief ste one but the deputies of the king created and authorized by his will to carry on the administrative activities of

his kingdom. In the opinion of Kautilya, the king makes their appointment only with a view to facilitate the governance of his state once at is humanly impossible for a single individual however strong and infelligent, to regulate and guids the entire social organisation on proper lines. Thus while incolleating the necessity and destrability of having councillors to subserve royalty Kautilya terely genarks.

# सहायसाध्य राजत्व चक्रमेक न वर्तते ।

कुर्वीत सचिवास्तस्मातेषा च श्रुष्ट्रयान्मतम् ॥

"Severeignty is practicable (only) with the oc operation (of others), for a single wheel by itself cannot revolve. Hence one shall appoint connections and listen to their advice". Here the appointment of these officials is king's voluntary hussess and thus a matter of pure expedience. Again, while determining the ministerial aphere of action we find Kauthya saying—

प्रलासपरीक्षातुमेगा हि राजग्रीच । स्वतं पर प्रलासप्, परोपदिष्ठ परोहास्। किस कुर्तनास्त्रविष्ठम् । क्षत्रीयपात् व संगामनं स्वाहनेक्स्य साद्यन्ते स्वाहनेक्स्य साद्यन्ते स्वाहनेक्स्य साद्यन्ते स्वाहनक्ष्यों मा मुस्ति व प्रोक्षमान्त्रे क्षत्रों स्वामान्त्रम् । "Royal work is either visible invisible or inferential What is perceived personally is visible what is specified by others is presible and what is planned sign the

<sup>1</sup> P. 18

<sup>.. ...</sup> 

#### THE ARTHAS-ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

accomplishment of some work, is inferential. In view of the fact that works are not found to erise simultaneously, ere of diverse nature and portain to several places, and also in view of the fact that the king may not loose proper time and place (in their accomplishment), he shall allow the ministers to accomplish them in his absence. Such is the asture of the work of munisters " Here elso Kautilya thinks that the appointment of the ministers is to be made only with a view to lessed the horden of the king to the discharge of his duties towards the state. In virtue of this peculier relation with their king the government officers in the Arthas'astre are strictly directed to take the permission of their supreme head, the monarch, to nodertaking eny new enterprise. Thos, in the chapter on ' Upayuktapariksha' Kautilye epecifically instructs the high officers not to do any work without consolting the covereign. He says ' न चानिवय भते किथिदारमं क्येरन्यत्रापत्रतीकारेभ्य 11 " Except on occasions of emergency end defence they ( : e. the officers ) shall not contemplate any project without communicating it to the Lord". Again, though the king is morally obliged to hold deliberations with his counsellors, yet he is in no way legally bound to ahide by the decision of the majority. He is free to exercise his own judgment

<sup>1.</sup> P. 68.

and discretion. In the chapter on 'Mautrādhikāra' Kautilya observes .—

आत्यियेके कार्ये मित्रिणो मित्रपरियदं चाहुय मूयात् ! तत्र यस्थिष्ठा कार्यविद्धिकरं वा मूयुरतंत्कर्यात् !

'In critical moments the king shall summen his ministers individually and collectively and deliberate (with them). He shall either act up to the decision of the majority or to that (of other ministers) which (in the opinion of the king) appears to hring success.'. Here it is evident that according to the Arthes' astra there is no legal chilistsion on the king to set according to the mandate of the council. This proves that the "Consultative Body" as it appears in the Arthes' fatra, is subservient to the king and fe practically in effective in checking the irresponsible exercise of sovereign power.

<sup>1</sup> P. 29

<sup>2.</sup> We agree with Bandopadhyays when he comments on the passag quoted above "the force of the words अञ्चलिश ह्या is taken away by the other expression कार्यशिव दिक्स या and proves that, though morally table to follow the opinion of the majority, it was laif to the Ming to effect the course which was best calculated to bring success;

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Farther-more, the prime minister, the highest dignitary of the state and probably the leader of the Mantrins, along with his colleagues, is no more than a royal servant, selected and appointed by the king and holding his office during royal pleasure. From the Arthas astra

- In the Kautiliya the prime-minister is referred to both as a Mantrin and as an Amatya. Cf;
  - (a) मंत्रिपुरेरिहतसस्य · · · · अमात्यानुपथाभिश्तो।चयेत् । P 18
    - (b) ऋत्यियाचार्यमन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापति युवराज eto, P. 247
  - (a) मंत्रिपुरोहितादि भ्रत्यवर्षे ..... राजैव करोति । P.822

Ametys - (a) जानवदोऽभिजातः ...... वैराणामकर्तेत्वमास्य-समात् । P.15 [ this person occurs in the obspice on the 'oreasion ( ci the

posts) of the Mantru and the Purchits' where after manifolding the requisites of the Austra Kauliya commercies the qualities of the Purchits without making any reterence to the Mantru This shows that he uses both the terms in the same sense ].

- (b) राजन्यसनमेवममास्यः प्रतिकृषीत् । P. 254
- (c) एवमेर्केश्वर्यममास्यः कार्यदिति वीटिल्यः 1 P. 255,

The symminous use of these two terms in the Arthaestra to decost the same personage probably above that at the time of Kauthys the prime minister was the joint had of the Mantinus or what Dr. Banerjee calls "the cabinet", and the Amatyas or the shift executive officers who were in charge of manifold departments of the state. To our much the last three chapters in the 5th book of the text seem to be setchusvely designed by Kauthya for directing the prime-minister in the proper performance of his duties.

(b) State monopoly of forests mines wine and salt -.The king of the Arthas'astra claims as his own the waste lands forests mines and liquing From the chapter on The Colonisation of wastelands (Janapadanivesha) it is clear that the king exercises his right of ownership as regards the wastelands Forests which appear to have been common property in the deys of the Dharmas'astras are found in the Arthas'astra eppropriated to the shere of the king These ere under the jurisdiction of royer officers called Dravyapanapalas Not only the rew produce but even wild animels such es deer ( Mriga ) ferocious beasts ( Vyala ) elephents etc are claimed as belonging to the king Valueble games espacially the elephants ere most realously guarded by promulgating stringent game laws! which bear a close resemblance to those enforced by the Normans in England Mines in the state which in the opinion of Kautilya are mainly responsible for bring no in new acquisitions and con

endowed with riches is acquired

Wealth has its source in mines and from wealth army is created it is by means of wealth and army that the earth

<sup>1</sup> Cf (a) मृतद्वध्यवनापदार् शत्या दण्ड 1

<sup>(</sup>b) इस्तिपातिन इन्यु । p

विवीतक्षेत्रक्ववेशमद्रस्यहिन्वनदेशिकम्मिनादाह्येत् ।

<sup>2</sup> C1 आकरप्रमय कोश कोशाइण्ड प्रजायते । पृथिनी कोशाइण्डाम्या प्राप्यत कोशम्यणा ॥ १ 85

solidating the covereignty of the king are also seized upon as government property Accordingly the mining operations are carried of under the supervision of a royal officer called the Akaradhuaksha' and are strictly guarded 1 The Kauttlivan king does not confine his attention to these mines which vield precions minerals such as corals towels gold, silver and other useful metals. He also controls and exploits the mines visiding sait and alkalies - the articles of daily consumption. The salt mines are under the direct supervision of a superintendent epecially orested for that purpose To add to this there is that now odions 'Salt-act ' at work which enjoins the people to pay a certain amount of tax and prescribes the highest punishment to those persons who live on unicensed' salt " Leguer in the Artha s'āstra is also a royal monopoly Accordingly it is manufactured sold and distributed through out the state under the supervision of the Suradhuaksha, or the apperintendent of Louors Only on festive occasions people are allowed to manufacture wine for a stipulated neriod and that also on the payment of a definite tax Cf.

<sup>1</sup> For instance a person who reals a jawel or any valua ble article either from m nes or royal manufacturies is pusished with death Cf खनिसारकमान्दोभ्यससार रतन वायदरत शुद्धवय । p 299

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उरसवसमाजयात्रासु चतुरहः सौरिको देव । तेष्वनुज्ञाताना प्रद्वणान्त देवासिकमस्ययं गृण्हीयात्।।

"On occasions of festivals, fairs, and social gatherings permission shall be granted to manufacture wine for four days. He shall take the daily tax from those persons who are allowed to manufacture liquor, until the period is over".

From the above it can be seen that the king of the Kautiliyan state exclusively reserves for himself almost all the natural resources of his kingdom.

## (c) King and the people.

This we shall orscues under the following four headings:-

- (1) Civil Liberty.
- (ii) Right of tagation.
- (111) Right to enforce the public will.
- (17) Right of defence and offence
- (s) Civil liberty:— Here we take the opportunity of explaining this term once for all, Ovel liberty or Liberty in society', is the right to do so one pleases while encroaching lesst on the wishes of others. "It includes", as Gettel says, "right to long action and immunity from interference," The State safeguards the

<sup>1</sup> P. 121

rights of an individual by pratecting him (a) against other individuals and (b) against the government or its executive organ. Against his follow—individuals the individual is protected by the government, and against the government protected his afforded to him directly by the State. In the former case, it is the government which becomes the judge, whereas in the latter that role is assumed by the State itself.

Now as regards the State of the Arthas/fatra, it fully takes cognizance of the first part of civil libetty and as such makes every legal provision to safe guard the life and property of the citizen against the encrosebments of his other fellow citizens. This point we shall illustrate by taking a few examples.—

## PROTECTION OF PERSON

Against defamation ( वाक्यारायम् ) — सर्प्यामध्यास्तुति निन्दासु द्वाद्यपणीत्तरा दण्डास्तुस्येषु । विशिष्टेशु द्विगुण । हानेष्वर्धे दण्डा । परक्षापु द्विगुण ।

"Indulgate in praise or conaire of equals, whether it be true or false shall be pumaked with a fine ranging over twoire panes. Of superiors with double the fine and of leferiors with half the fine. Of others' wives with double the fine."

<sup>1.</sup> P. 193

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Aquinst assault — शक्केश प्रहरत उत्तमी दण्डः मदेन हस्तवधः। वधे वधः!।

"When a person injures (another person) by means of a weapon he shall be punished with the highest surrement. If he acts so under interiestion his hands will be out off. If he marders him he shall be haused."

Against attempt on life -

विपदायकं पुरुष क्षिय पुरुषशीसप. प्रवेशयेत्र !

"A man who administers posen (to others), and a woman who murders a man shall (both) be drowned". PROTECTION OF PROPERTY

 (i) प्रसद्धादाने बास्तुनि स्तयदण्डः । कारणाद्याने प्रयासमाजीव परिसद्ख्याय बन्धं दथात् । मयौदावदरणे पूर्वः साद्दसदण्डः । सर्यादाभेदे च्लानिशतिषणो दण्डः ।

"Occupation of a building site by force shall be punished as theft. If taken possession of by autother on reasonable grounds be shall pay a compensation (to its owner), after considering his bare subsistence (另刊刊刊前). Encreach, ment upon boundaries shall be punished with

<sup>1</sup> P 224. 2. P. 230.

<sup>2.</sup> P. 230.

<sup>3</sup> P. 169,

the first amercement. Destruction of bounds ries with a fine of twenty four pauss".

(n) चेतुकूपपुण्यस्थानचैखदेवतायतनानि च परभूमी त्रिवेशयत
 ... ... ... मन्यमस्धाहसदण्ड १ ।

'Constructing lakes, wells, hely places, monestaries and temples in a site pertaining to another person, shall be punished with the middle amercement?"

(111) सन्यादीयमीपशायिकमनास्याय प्रयच्छतः कत्या धण्णवति देण्डः । शुरूक्त्रीयनप्रतिदानं च । वरिश्वतुर्वं। वर्षेपमना स्याय द्विष्णः । शुरूक्त्रीयननाश्यः ।

"A person giving his daughter in marriage writhout amountsing her (guilt of) having an ideas connection with another man, shall be liable to the fine of \$5 panas and also shall he made to restore the Suika and Strukana. A person receiving a gui in marriage without divulging the defects of a brind groom shall have to antice a fine of double the above and also the fortesture of Suika and Strukhana.

AGAINST THE LIBERTY OF A PERSON

(1) पुरप्तवन्धनीर्थं बप्रती बन्धयती वा --- ----- --- बाहमप्राप्तञ्बद्दार बप्रती
बन्धयती वा सद्धरण्ड <sup>2</sup> ।

<sup>1</sup> P. 17t. 2 P 188

"When a person keeps or causes to keep another person in bondage who has no reason to be so treated, or keeps or causes to keep in enninement a boy who has not attained majority, be aball be punished with the fine of 1000 Papas".

(1) उद्श्वासवर्थमाभैप्राणमप्राप्तन्यवहार् हादं ,विकथाधानं नयतस्य-जनस्य द्वाद्रापणो दण्डः । वैदयं द्विगुणः । बाह्मणं चतुर्गुणः । प्रजनस्य प्रवेदस्यमोत्तमवधाः फेतुफीतृणा च! ।

"The kinsmen, who bring for sale or mortgage, the life of a S'ūdra who is an Ārya (A free man), and not a born slave, and who is (yet) a minor, shall be fined 12 Panes, of a Vais'ya, 24 Panes, of a Xebstriya 26 Panes, and of a Bráhmann, 48 Panes. In the event of atrangers doing so, they shall be punished with the three americaments and capital punishment (respectively). The purchasers and the witnesses (in the bargain) shall also be punished likewise".

## Protection against the government officials.

Beside making such legal provisions to safe guard the rights and privileges of a citizen, against the aggression of his fellow-citizen, the state of the Arthar State takes due care to grant him immunity from the oppresions of the bureaucrapy. Kantilya specially instructs the

<sup>1</sup> P. 181.

king to keep a strict watch over the high officiels of the sta e with a view to provent misbehaviour on their part in the discharge of their duties 1 For ". he says with a true insight of a philosopher into human nature "men like borses, when yoked to the office ere ept to go. astray' — अधनधर्माणी हि मनुष्या विस्का कर्मसु विकुर्वते'। He therefore, issues several regulations in order to chock or suppress the svil propeosities of the officers These regulations prescribe ver uns sorts of punishments to be meted out to them

They are prosecuted for the offences committed against the public by promnigeting—such laws or regula tions as we give below

(i) यस्तमुदय द्विगुणमुद्भावयति स जनपद भक्षयति । स वेदाजार्थम्पनयस्यस्यापराधे वार्ययतस्य । महति ययापराघ दण्डवितन्य + 1

Whoever doubles the revenue consumes the country. If he brings in the same for the sake of the king he shall be warned in case the offence is not serious if it is of a graver character he shall be punished in proportion to the gnilt

तथा कोशा नरेंद्राणा क्षीयन्त राष्ट्रकशैनात् ॥ 4 P 48 4 Quo ed by G Shastri

कमें सु विषा निख परीक्षा नार्थेत् चित्तानित्यस्वात् मनुष्याणाम् ।

<sup>2</sup> P 88 ड C/ ययाप्तकश्चेनारप्राणा सायन्ते सर्वदहिनाम 1

# (u) मामिकस्य मामादस्तेनपारदारं निरस्यतश्रत्विंशतिपणी दण्ड. 11

"When a village headman drives out of the village a person who is neither a harglar nor an adulterer, be shall be punished with a fine of 24 Pages".

(111) घमेस्पथेहिबदमानं पुरुषं तर्नयति, मर्त्वयस्यप्रसारकस्यभि-प्रकते वा, प्रेमसे साहसदण्डं कुर्योत । वानपारुषे हितुलाम् । पुरुष्यं न पुरुष्ठित, प्रद्वा वा विद्यज्ञति, विद्यमति, सारयति, पूर्व ददाति वेति मध्यमसे साहतदण्डं जुर्योत् । देयं देशं न पुरुष्ठित, अदेषं देशं पुरुष्ठित, कार्यमदेशेनाशिवाह्यति, एतेनातिद्दति, बालदर्षेन आत्मनप्यवाह्यति, मार्गोपसं वालयमुल्यत्यति, मतिसहायं साधिम्यो ददाति, कारिताद्व-शिष्ट कार्य पुनर्पण गुलाति, जतास्यं साहस्यक्षण्डं कुर्योद् । पुनर्पराधि हित्रण, स्थानास्यदर्शणं वरं ।

"If a judge, threatens or chides, or drives out or (unjustly) silences a litigant, be shall be houshed with the first americament. If he defames the hitigant be (i. e. the judge) shall be pousebed with a fine of double the amount. If he does not question what ought to be questioned or questions what ought not to be questioned, or (even) having questioned passes it over, or instructs, reminds or intimates any litigant beforeband, he shall be

l. P. 172.

<sup>2.</sup> PP, 224-225.

isable to the middle amercement. If he does not proceed to make relevant inquiries or proceeds in make irrelevant inquiries, drags off the business innecessarily, or postpones it with malice, or having sport mone of time makes the litigant leave (the court) with disgust, or (purposely) avoids or overlooks a relevant statement (intigrity airquiry), or lends (personal) assistance to the witnesses, or resumes the case which has already been decided, he shall be puttished with the highest amercement If he repeats the same, he shall he doubly fined and dismissed forthwith".

Such are the measures which the government of Kanthlys adopts in protecting and maintaining the environment of the settlement of the settlement of individuals and the administrative officers. The latter are subjected to punishment not as the representatives of the king but as ordinary individuals of the State.

As regards the other part of civil liberty which consists in granting immunity against government and which constitutes until liberty proper, it is not recognised and bence not maintained by the state of Kantilya-daw action against government is construed as an offence against the king and hence it is not tolerated in the least. Any person, whose interests come into conflict with those of the king is regarded as aeditions and as such is either deprived in the introduced as the conflict with those of the king is regarded as sections.

# THE ARTHAS ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

civil rights<sup>1</sup> or even of his life by promulgating the law of treason which operates with great rigour and whose provisions we give helow:—

- (1) राजकोशकमंत्रभेदकयोः · · · जिन्हामुत्पाटयेत् ।
  - "Persons crying down the king or divulging the secret of the state shall have their tongue out off."
  - (॥) राज्यकामुक्तमन्तःयुरप्रपर्यकमटम्यमित्रीत्वाह्कं दुर्गराष्ट्रपट कोपकं वा शिरोहस्तप्रादीपिकं चातयेतः। ब्रान्द्वं तमपः अवेशयेतः ।
    - This will be evident from the following verss भीचार्य परदेश या प्रस्थिती राजिकित्विषी !

प्राणाभिद्वन्ता पतितस्थ्याज, झीबोऽपि वा पतिः ॥ २.15६

"A write may divorce her husband, who has degraded himself or has gone abroad, or has become a traitor to the king or its numrderer or has fallen from easts or the king or its numrderer or has fallen from easts or has lost all his virility."

Even a woman is made to fortest her right to Siradiana and her marital presents.

टा, राजद्विद्यातिचाराश्यामारमापक्षमणेन च । झीपनानीवद्यल्का-नामखाभ्य जायते द्वियः । p. 157.

2. P. 230. . 3. P. 220.

"A percon covering the royal domains, outraging the sanctity of the berom, instigating the wild tribes (against the king) creating dissification in the army of the metropolis or of the mofusel, shall be killed by burning his best and hands, a Brähmens (offender) shall be drowned unto death."

In prescribing this law, it will be noticed Kautilya often contradicts the maxim that punishment should be always jufficted ju proportion to the actual orime committed (प्रद्यापराधिकेथेण दण्डविशेष कार्य ।) - a maxim which is supposated by himself. It is rather inequitous to punish the persons alaudering the king with the mutilations of the tonene The mode of executing persons who are accused of carrying ou an undestrable propagauda against the royal person either in his own realm or outside is simply repugnant and as such it acems to outrue in barbarity the actual crime committed But the prescription of such atringent laws is the direct outcome of Kautilya's abhorrence for sedition When be once anspects any person to be conspiring against the king he looks upon him as an outlaw only deserving to be put down by any means. In eradicating seditions

<sup>1</sup> This law of treason, as Bandopadhysya points out, bears a very close resemblance to the one promulgated by the Plantsgenets in England

persone he employs such methoda as are entirely deisociated from all standards of morality. To quote but one example .- The prince, according to Kantilya, 18 to adopt the following device to make away with a power

ब्यमहामात्रपुत्रमात्मसभावितं वा सत्री-धराजपुत्रसर्वं शतुमयादि इत्यस्तोशित " इत्युपजयेत् । प्रतिपत्र राजा रहति प्जयेत् - "प्राप्तयोवful traitor :--राज्यकालं स्वा महामात्रभयासाभिषिचामि" इति । तं सन्नी महामात वधे योजनयत् । विकानतं तत्रेव पातयेत् । « पितृपातकोऽय " इति ।

"A spy may whisper note the ear of a seditious minister's son who thinks highly of himself - 'you sro the son of the king hat are kept here out of fear from the enemies'. When won aver, the king may honour him to secret saylog 'Though you have attained the proper ege I caunos massil you se my beir apparent since I apprahend danger from the minister.' Then the spy may instigate him to murder the minister When he aucceeds the former may kill him on the epot on the plea of his being a murderer of his own (ather." He maintains the same attitude towards the external enemies of the king. He thinks that any ruler who opposes the conqueror (Vyspuhu) in his attempt to extend his dominions as to be regarded as an enemy and to be crushed at all costs. Accordingly be recommends

<sup>2. 1 38</sup> idea of an external enemy is based on the 2. 1 and 2. 2 an अराजभीजी eto, on P. 259 87

to his 'politicel man' the adoption of deceitful and immorel methods for the successful putting down of his Such devices have been abundantly described in the lest ionr books' of the Arthas'astre. The employ, ment of dishonesty, eruelty, violence and meny other vices for the destruction of enemies of the State receives, in the opinion of Kautilys, general approbation. When he specifically admonishes the king that such messures nught to to be taken unly against traitors and the wicked and not against others ( एव क्योज्ब्सार्मिकें प्र च पतित । नेतरेष ) , be implicitly thinks that expedient, however isolsted from moral or stimus consideration, can be deemed dishonourable while dealing with the enemy. Hence it is that he entertains no seruples in advising the conqueror to overcome his enemies by using such methods wherein moral judgements are wholly subordinated to the existences of "political existence and welfare." This Kaptiliyan philosophy of expediency is awfully frank and in a way straightforward. All his dealines with the enemy proceed from the conviction that he is a veritable viper and es such fit to be annihilated by psing neacropuloes machinations. This is the rest psychology of the author

मंघरतम्, आवर्गयसम्, दुर्गेज्यमोपायः, and ओपनिवरिकम् ।
 P.216 Cf also चातुर्क्यंरसार्थमौपनियदिकमधर्मिष्टम् प्रयुकीत ।

## THE ARTHAS ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

of the Arthas astra which has been but grossly misrepresented or ridiculed by great Sanskut writers like Bana and Dandi ut that followed him containes afterwards. To be brief, like Machivelli, Kaudija '18 not immoral but unmoral in his politics'.

The State of Kautilya does not provide any safeguard against government-encroachment hepanes it is strietly a monsrchical state, where, as has been shown in the earlier part of the cessy, the king both represents the government and the State. His will is the "goneral will' and consequently he is absolute in authority over all individuals or associations of individuals within the State. As an absolute sovereign nobody can claim any right against him which ultimately means that he gives his subjects no guarantee against interference in his part. Thus like the Dharmas'astrea, the Arthas'astra of Kautilya does not take cognizance of "civil liberty" in the real sense of the term.

(ii) Right of taxation:—The financial system of the Kauthiyan government as it appears in the Arthasfastra, is decidedly of an advanced type. As compared with the earlier tax system which is found in the Dharmss'lastras, the one of Kauthiya is heavier and more complex

Political Theories — Ancient & Medieval P. 229.

and as such is the index of an advanced stage of civilization and consequent increase in the duties of State-

In early days the burden of taxation was very light.

"Peasants", asys Gautuma, the eatliest known law giver of India, "shall pay to the king a tax of one tenth, one eighth or, one sixth (of the produce). Some hold that (a tax of) one fitteenth (shall be paid) on cattle and gold. A daty of one twentreth shall be paid on merchandise and in the case of roots, fruits, flowers medicines, beths, honey, meat, grass and fire-wood the tax (to be paid) shall be one sixteenth"—

राहो बन्दित वर्षेडेर्श्वममध्मं पष्ट वा । पद्यहिर्ण्ययोग्प्येके पचाशद्भागः । विंशतिमान झुल्हः पण्ये । मूनफलपुष्यीपधमधुनुणे-न्धनानां पश्च<sup>1</sup> ।

In the days of Mauu taxation appears to be comparatively burdensome as the rates are appreciably higher and items of taxation numerous. Thus says Mann:—
"Of gold and cattle the king may take one fifteenth, and

"Of gold and cattle the king may take one fifteenth, and of grains one eighth, one auth of one twelfth part (as tax.) He may also take a sixth part of trees, meat, money, clarified hutter, performes, medicinal herbs, liquida (oil otc.) flowers, roote, fruits, of leares vege tabler, grass akina (of sulmala), canes, and also of earthern versela, and of a titlees made of stones."

<sup>1.</sup> X 21.27.

<sup>9.</sup> VII 130 152

### THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

The financial system that is detailed in the Arthas'astra marks e distinct advance over this simple system of taxation which we find in the Dharmas'astra literature. We proceed to describe it below.

The following are the chief sources from which the state of Eartifys derives its income:— (c) Capital, (n) countryside, (n) mines, (nv) public works, (v) invests, and (vi) pactures.

The income which flows forth from the capital to the royal treesury emeists of excise duties levied on erticles of local production like liquor, mile, cottongonde eto: taxes on contegans, artisans, warehouses ( Panua samstha), and places of pilierimage ( probably this was the duty of the Devotadhyaksha mentioned here). and tolls collected un cuty-gates ( Sulkam ), the revenue from the country opposts of land assessments of various descriptions, ferry does and toad cesses. The assets derived from the mines are chiefly the precious metals and their other yields. The receipts of nubits works are flowers, fruite, and vegetables grown in the stategerdens, and those from forests consist of the sale of the forest-produce (Dravya), of elephants, and other animals and the proceeds from forest lands which are leased out to private individuale. The locome derived from pastures consists of grazing fees levied on cattle and lastly, that collected from trade-roptes is by levies on landroutes

and water ways. There are other minor beads of taxation t e those levied on loads and beats of burden by frontier officers and also on the issue of passports In addition to these regular taxes there are occasional imposts levied on particular occasions also These doubtless are imposed on the people to meet the growing needs of an importal state. They are Senshhaffam—contributions levied for the subastence of the army (probably these taxes were levied in war times only) Obsanya—this is a tax paid on the occasion of the birth of a prince Dr. P Bancepee ngbity describes these taxes as 'torred beavelences.' Parshva—royalines. Asparyanska—taxes in the form of presentations to be made to the king!

As regards the rates of taxstron the land assessment is the traditional one sixt of the produce which is acts or dimery times usually is raised to one fourth or one third ( टी जंगद महान्तमाश्यमाण या देवातुक ..... पानस्वात तृतीय नद्भार या यानेते । ] Besides these there are other kinds of taxes on lands such as Ball Pindakara Kara etc but the exact import of these terms is not as yet definitely established As to the ceale of doties on commodities we give the following table —

<sup>1</sup> P 94

<sup>2</sup> P 243 श्रदेवसातुक would be a better reading

## THE ARTHAS'ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

1/6th - on fruits, flowers grams, meat and fish1 1/15th or 1/10th - on linea goods cotton-fabric mercury metal sandlewood etc 2

1/25th to 1/10th-on clothes cotton medicine firewood bamboos skins clay pots oils wine, salt etc. 3

In connection with merchandise it is to be pointed out that taxes are levied even on their sale and hence the sale of any commodity at the place of its production is strictly probibited under penalty of law -

# जातिभमिषु च पण्यानामविकय ।

खानिभ्यो घातुपण्यादानेषु पर्छतमस्यय । eto 4

"Articles shall not be sold at the place of their pro duction A person parebasing any minerals or salable articles at the production centres shall be fined 600 Panas." All the commodities therefore are taken to the market and put for sale in the presence of royal officers who charge due taxes (S'nlkam) theren ! The tax on all sales is 1/16 if measurable by a cubical standard 1/20 if weighed and 1/10 if counted " Thus.

P 112

<sup>5</sup> See pp 109 111.

पोडशमागो मानव्यात्री । विश्वतिमागस्त्रलामानम् । गण्यपण्यानामेकादशभागः ।

in its zeal as it were for amassing wealth, the state of Kauhiya exhauets overy possible source of taxation. "No inconceivable resource," as Prof. S.K. Sarkar, rightly remarks, "bas been untapped by the Mauryan empire".

This heavy and complex system of taxation which obtains in the state in question obviously shows that the king never consults his people whether in creating or enhancing the sources of taxation. There is no machinery like a popular assembly of today, through which be could manage to consult the public in shaping his fiscal polloy. In fact, according to Kantilya, the people are to pay straight way anob taxes as are demanded of them by the king. Those who fail or avoid the proper payment of the imposts levied by the State, are in his opinion, liable to punishments of varying severity. This will be clear from the following instances:—

(a) समाहर्नुप्रस्य मीर्ध्म कर्पकामासुद्धाय कारभेषुः। प्रमादापमस्यास्य द्विप्रमुद्धाद्दाराची बीजनाले बीजलेल्यं कृषुं। निष्पत्रे इत्तिपकादार्वा बारभेषुः। स्वस्वापदारिषः प्रसासुद्धाः। स्वस्वापदारिषः प्रसासुद्धाः सीतास्त्रयः। स्वर्गदेश बाहास्य द्वा बद्धाः।

<sup>1.</sup> P. 243.

"The schordinates of the collector general may force peasants to raise the summer crops Declaring that any injory to the crops through negligence (on the part of the collivators) would entait the fine of dooble the amood (of the total price of the crops), they shall make entries of (the quantity of code-eight ear) sown in the sowing seasoo. When crops are ripe, they (i.e. the royal officers) shall provent them (the cultivators) from removing the standingerop. . .... Whosever takes away his nwo grain shall pay a fine cight times the quantity of grain removed, and whoever steals the core belonging to another person shall be liable to a fine 50 times the quantity steller and provided the rother belongs to the same community of he is an obtsider he shall be put to death."

(ii) चतुर्यमंशं धान्याना ------ च गृण्होयु । दन्ताजिनस्या-धैम् । अनिस्प्रविकीष्णनस्य पूर्वस्थादसदण्ड । ।

"(The officers) shall take one fourth share of grains. They shall also exact one half of every and aking of animals and punish with the first amercement those who trade in these commodities without initialing the required licence from the State"

But this does not mean that Kautilya favours the collection of arbitrary exactions up the part of the king.

<sup>1</sup> P 243

On the other hand, be advises him to prevent his deputies from indulging in the economic tyranny of the people He says —

यस्यमुद्य द्विगुणमुद्भावयति स जनपद भक्षयति । स चेद्राजार्थ-मुपनयज्ञन्यापराधे वार्यितन्यो महति यथापराध दण्डयितन्य । ।

'An officer who collects double the useal amount of revenue eats into the vitality of the people. If he brings in the exactions for the king he may he pardoned provided his offence is slight if grave he may be fined in proportion to his guilt.' In another place he asks the king to protect the agriculturists from oppressive fines and taxations.' Again be admonithes the enveragin to raise the emergency taxes (Pranayah) only nince and never twice [ च कुदैय न [ द प्रयोगय 1] According to him taxes should be imposed in proportion to the paying ability of the people so that they should not feel their pressure. This principle he enunciates in a very striking manuer. He asaya.—

पक पक्तिमेदारामात्कल राज्यादवाप्नुयात् । आमच्छेदमयादाम वर्जयेत्वोपकारकम् ॥

<sup>1</sup> P 68

<sup>°</sup> दण्डीविष्टिकराबाँचे etc P 48

<sup>4</sup> TP 046

"Just as fruits are gathered from a garden whenever they become ripe in the same way revenue shall be collected from the people whenever it becomes ripe Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe shall never be carried on, lest their source may be impured causing immense trouble". It is significant to note in connection with this verse that it is purely based on the presumption that the right of taxation is solely vested to the king and the king alone.

Thus though the citizens of the Kaudilyan State bays no voice in the formation of rules pertaining to taxation, still the king is expected to save them from being underly exploited

(111 Right to enforce the public will —Bong a strong and contrained government. (as is evident from the dear emption in the Arthas fastra of a complicated and claborate system of its administration), the Kantilyan State never takes organizance of the right of its eithers of direct or indirect participation in the management of the affairs of the State. All authority issues forth from the king and its in his name that the whole administration is conducted by an 'all engreasing' bureancracy. The king and his council (Manirapara'al) which it will be resulted does not in any way represent the public are the final authority in all matters concerning the State. Both the capital and the contribute (Janapada) are

directly controlled by the king and precificelly no ecope is loft for the people to exercise any political rights. As to the ceptial it is under the control of the Nägsraks of the City Superintendent who in his seal for Democratism, has been wroogly termed as 'Mayor' by Prof. B. Sarkar. Under this are four Sthankas or Divisional officers such of whom is in charge of a quester of the city. Under these officers there are several Gopss or Sub divisional officers whose duty it is to look to the sflars of femilies in groups of ten or twenty or forty which are silotted to them seperately. [बनाइन्डियाम व्यवस्थान वार विस्तवेद । व्यवस्थाने वार विस्तवेद । व्यवस्थाने वार विस्तवेद । व्यवस्थाने वार विस्तवेद वार विस्तवेद ।

The chief duty of the town officials is to eee that traders and law aviding citizene are undesturbed in their respective pursuit. They have to provide medical aid to the suffering and keep watch on strangers either coming in or departing from the city. They have to course the good sanitary condition of the city and take precautions against the accidents of fire. It is addition to these duties they are expected to prevent the commission of crimes on the part of the imbalitant's.

<sup>1</sup> P 65 The Political Institutions & the Theories of the Hindus.

<sup>2</sup> P 143

<sup>3</sup> See pp 142-147

### THE ARTHAS ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

From the above it will be even that the administration of the capital town is exclusively manned by the king through his servants.

In this connection we named avoid making a few remarks as regords The Municipel Board of Pataliputra, the metropolis of Chandragupta, the account of which hes been preserved to us by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at his court. The functions of the 'Municipal Board' as detailed by Megasthenes' agree in the main with the duties which the Nägaraka end his enbordinates are called upon to discharge. But curiously enough Keutilya makes no reference whetveever to the existence of this constitutional body in charge of the affairs of the chief town of the State. It is probable that Megasthenes might have interpreted in the language

<sup>1.</sup> See 'Megasthenes', Mc Criedle Fragment 34.

<sup>2</sup> The chapter on 'Magarakayrandh' doubtlessly concerns itself with the simulatiration of the capital of the Siste, and not with that of other calles existing therein For, as we learn from the chapter on Durganwesha, it is in Durga where the high and his functionaries ratio field (See P. 55), and what Kaulilyarsfers as Nagarakayrandhi (Cy United and and is a Nagarakayrandhi (Cy United and and Character form the sentence occurring immediately on the next page (cy va Araginar united States).

of his own country the hohy of towo-officials headed by the Nagaraka as mentioned in the Arthasfastra, for it is almost impossible to conceive of an elected 'Municipal Board' as governing the capital of the State referred to in the Arthasfastra

Provincial (Janapada) administration is modelled on the same looss as that of the capital. The Samaharia or the Collector georesis is the bond of the province under whom are the four Sthankar each to charge of a quarter of the Janapada. Under these officials there are name rous Gopas (the village accountants) in charge of five or ten villages. These latter set up the village boundaries keep the most detailed census of occupations income and expenditure of mee and also watch the cooduct of the spheres.

Turning our attention to the village edministration we find that at the head of the village there is the Gramika or headman appointed no doubt by the State<sup>2</sup>

- 1 PP 141 143
- 2 This inference we base on the penal provision prescribed
- by Kantlys for Gramics failing in the proper discharge of his dates (CL Riffuere multicelediffication for any 2, 173). Had he been an officer of the village elected by the people there would have been no necessity for the rate of sub-pecing him to genatic a wheever he cred in his public duties and thus tresting him as an officer for that would have been the concern of the centals by whose will be was bound.

#### THE ARTHAS ASTRA OF KAUTILYA

He is assisted by a band of village elders or the Grama vridhah there being un restriction as to their number Such is probably the cese because the number of members whn form the (village) chuncil varies according to the rise and fall in the number of the elderly folk of the village Every oldman of the village excepting of course anch a one with phiectionshie career and spoilt re putation is as the very term Gramairidhah suggests by dint of his ripe age and mature wisdom entitled in take active part in the general administration of his village This is perhans the resame why the shrewed author of the Arthes'astra refrance from giving any particuler number as to the strength of this little sutonomous body It is thus as Prof. Altekar rightly enquetures au informal and non elective' onuncil of the village elders through which the village communities exercise their rights or more approprietly discharge their duties to the State

The following ere the social duties entrusted to the village elders -

(i) To take charge of estates belonging to minors and the property of gode [बाल्डस्य प्रामस्या वर्षेयेद्धास्त्रवहा रप्रापणात् । देवदस्य च<sup>8</sup> i) — The elders of the village

<sup>1.</sup> P 18 'History of rillege communities in Western India
9 P 43 and also Cy भगासन्त्रवहाराणा देवनिहाद मातृबन्धुषु
प्रमादय वा स्थापययन्यवहारआपचाद । प्रोपितस्य वा ।

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shall protect the property of micors till they attain majority. They shall also preserve the property of the (village) gods "

- (ii) To decide boundary-disputes (ইয়েবিবাই ধান-বামান-হুৱা: কুই ' t) "Disputes concerning the houndary of fields shall be decided either by the elders of the neighbourbood or of the village."
- (iii) To keep in good repairs temples, holy places, and other religious attest— উন্তুক্তবুগৰ্মান বৈশ্বনাধনানি ম .... হ্বাদ্যাবুগৰ হাল বংশবানানি কালা:বুগৰালি বা মনিউড্টা'' '' In the absence of their masters, either the elders of the willage or some obarisable gentlemen shall repair the (dispulated) embankments, wells, holy places, Chatyse, and the temples''.

These are all the public functions carried on by the village people with the assent of the Imperial State of the Atthas'stra. The powers retained to the hands of the yillager, as we have just seen, are mainly those of trosteeship. They have no executive powers which are

P. 169 also Cf. शीमाविचार्द श्रामयोदसयोस्सामन्ताः एकमाभी दशमाभी वा ako P. 168.

<sup>2.</sup> P. 171.

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exercised by the village head man' who is e nominee of the capital government.

The neture of the work with which the village elders are entrasted bridly warrant the inference that they enjoy or exercise any 'right' in active participation in the affairs of the stete. On the contrery it clearly indicates the fact that the central government 'permits' its villagues to discharge such duties as mentioned above partly out of contrest to them and partly with a purpose of facilitating its administration. So we may conclude by eaying that neither in town nor in villages the public of the Kanhiyan state claim for themselves any political right.

- (ie) Right over State action (Defence and offence) —
  As in internal affairs the citizens of the State with which
  Kentilya is concerned, do not claim any voice in the
  management of its external matters such as waging war
  or concluding peace with the neighbouring states. The
  king alone is the ultimate anthority in determining the
  exist course of policy to be adopted in accordance with
  the exigencies of time sum place with reference to foreign
  powers. Of course, in deciding the particular line of
- 1 Hols vested with magistarial powers as he can expel this vest, adultorers and criminals from the village of आसिक्स्य आसादस्तेनगादार निराम्यत etc. P. 172

action, the king, according to Kautilys, has to consult his conneillors for, he says, भाषाची स्वास्ता :—'All edumistrative measures are (always) preseded by full deliberation (with the council). But abose concollors, as we have once said, are no more than royal servants whose continuation is effice colely depends on his will.

The king in his declings with the neighbouring states, is to make use of sixfold expediencies in tune with the changing superconnects. Says Kantilya —

परस्मादीयमानः संदर्भात । अन्युषीयमानो विगृण्होताद् । न मां परो नाह परमुष्टर्ग्य शक्त ३ व्यासीत् । शुकातिसयपुक्ते यायाद् ॥ शक्ति हीनस्वप्रयेत् ॥ सहायसाय्ये कार्ये हैथीनाव मच्छेत्ते ॥

"When inferior to his enemy the Vijini's may make passe, when growing in power he may declare war, when no thinks - I am not capable of straining my enemy, nor the enemy is capable of craining my self, then he may manisate neutrality, if possessed of all excellences he may man satisfaction against his enemy, if deteriorating in attempth he may seak abeliar, and if he sees that any work is lishe to be realized with the cooperation of others he shell adopt double dealing." With the help of these expediencies the king of the Arthardeira competes with his rivals for asif agrandseement and consolidation of bia power. He coters the political areas with the full

consciousness that he is the sole proprietor of his kingdom. This idea of proprietorship is discernible at every step in his dealings with the neighbouring states. This will be clear from the following examples:—

(i) यदि वा परेषत् — आयुर्पायम्य थेशीमायो या मे जनपरः शैववननद्वांदुर्वेकद्वारारक्षे वा शस्त्रति परामियोगं प्रतिदृत्तुमितिः, विपयान्ते दुर्गमविषयमपात्रितो वा शस्त्रामि परकर्मान्युपदरमु-मितिः व्यवनपीयोयद्वेतीस्याद्वे वा परः संप्राप्तकमोपपातकाल इतिः, विग्रहोतस्यान्यतो वा शस्त्रामि जनपदमपशाह्यिमुमिति विग्रहे विप्तते श्रह्मातिष्ठेत् ॥

"It a king thinks:—" my country is full of soldiers and corporations of fighting men and it possesses such charmal defeasive) positions, as mountains, forests, rivers, and forts with only one entrance, and ear, therefore, easily repel the attack of my enomy, or, having taken position in an impregnable fortress on (my) frontier, I can destroy the projections of my enemy, or owing to internal troubles and loss of energy, my enemy will early suffer from the destruction of his works; or, when my enemy is attacked by another king, I can induce his subjects to immigrate into my country", then he may auxilies to immigrate into my country, then he may auxilies his own revoluces by keeping open hostility with such an enemy."

<sup>1.</sup> P. 255.

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(11) सन्धेयस्य वा दूरं प्रत्येत् । तेन वा प्रेषितमर्थमानास्या सङ्ख्य ध्र्यातः — "दृदं राष्ट्रः पण्यामारमिदं देवीक्रमाराणा देवी क्रमारवचनादिदं राज्यमञ्ज च स्वर्षण " इति ! )

"Or the Vijiglahu may send his ambassador to his enemy who is likely to accept peace. Or, having resilved the messenger of the enemy with wealth and due respect he may tell the latter. "Here are the presents for 'your' king. This is the gift to your queen and the prince from my queen and the prince, myself and my kingdom are at your (eptire) disposal."

Such instances, which are strewn all over the latter ball of the work, clearly show, that, like the feudal chiefs of Europe, the kings of the Artbay'astra lock upon their kingdoms as their own private existes. Honce it is that the cutzens of the Kautilyan Saste are completely alienated from the cojoyment of any political right either in its internal administration or in its diplomatio relations with other co ordinate powers

The king of Kautilya exercises proprietory rights over his state because, he is, like the Machivellian prince, primarily a conqueror or the vigafisha whose sole ambition is to establish his publical influence. And

<sup>1.</sup> P. 23J.

<sup>2.</sup> Vide P 408

## CHECKS

Dharma

The State as conceived by Kantilya is predominently an economic one This is evident when he introduces a s guificant mod fication in the traditional list of the three ends of human existence namely Dharma Artha and Kama by giving a distinct precedence to Artha over Dharma Thus he remarks - अर्थो धर्म काम इस्तर्थात्रवर्ग । तस्य पूर्व पूर्व श्रेयानसुमम्प्राप्तुम् ।

Wealth righteousness and enjoyment are the triad of wordly existence. Of these it is better to secure that which is mentioned in the order of summeration makes this replacement because in his opinion is the basis of virtue and enjoyment'— अर्थो धर्मकामहेत । This view he expresses in unequivocal terms in the earlier part of the Arthas astra when he declares --

अर्थ एव प्रवान । अर्थमुली हि धर्मधामाविति"।

It is the weaf h and wealth alone which is of supreme importance since virtue and enjoyment depend on wealth This trend of Kantiliyan thought presents a direct contrast to that of the Dharman'astra thinkers who regard Dharms to be the basis of all a

Sinti parvan Ch. 193.

<sup>19</sup> धर्ममूल सदैवार्य कामोऽर्वफलमुच्यते । सक्ल्यमूलास्ते सर्वे सक्ल्यो विप्यासक ॥

#### THE ADTHAS ASTDA OF KAUTILYA

But this apparent subordination of Dharms to Artha as effected by Kautilya does not at all mean that he helongs to the Chârvâka school of philosophy which denonuces religion, scoff at faws and morals and hates all discipline." For, unlike the Bārhaspatyas, the exponents of the bedoustic school who ridicule the iray and describe it as a more disquise for men of the world (संबद्धान हि. नवे शिक्शानीक्ट इंदि 17. 6), he accepts it as one of the lores and recognises with great reverence the value of their teaching as being helpful for the maintenance of the social order. (of एव नविश्वास्त्रीक्ष्यों बणीनासामाना व स्वयम्धानावादिक (दिस्त ) 7)

<sup>1</sup> C/ त्रयो वदस्य क्तारी भण्डध्वीनशावरा । अफीत्फीलादि पाण्डतानो वच स्मृतम् ॥

<sup>2</sup> C/ P 9, P 150, P 40Many of the above quotations I owe to Mr Mugali's paper on the Three main aspects of the Arthus fatra"

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is most eignificant of all ie that he believes in the efficacy of Dharma or righteouspess. In his opinion, one of the excellences of the treasury (Kos'asampat) of the State is that it should the boarded by 'just means' ( धर्माधिगत P. 258) Again, according to Kantilya, a king who attacks the rear of another king who has marched apainst a virtuous king gains advantage. "for ", eava be, "one who persecutes the virtuous king mours the displeasure of his own people and also those of others.1 , But the Brahmane in Kantilya rices to his highest when he refutes the argument of his wordly minded preceptor who holds that treaty based on seconity (Pratiblishal) or hostege (Praisgrahe va) is permanent, whereas, that which is hased on truth or oath is quite the reverse. To this Kantilya replies. "it is not so. Peace concluded on the hasis of honesty or oath is immutable both in this and the next world. But what se made on a hostere or security is lasting in this world only because it depends upon the power of the person, who stands as a accuraty or a hostage' -- नेति केटिन्य' । सत्य वा शपयो वा परनेह च स्यावरस्यास्य । इहार्य एव प्रतिभः प्रतिग्रहो वा वलाधेप र )

<sup>1</sup> P 302.

<sup>2</sup> P 513. For the interpretation, of this passage see p 70 of 'The Studies in the Arthas'atta' -- Published by the Sanakrit Liferary Association of the Karnatak College, Dharwar, in 1929

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This passage clearly shows that he believes in the existence of a brighter world and a higher lew. Such extracts hear cloquent testimony to the fact that unlike the hedonists, the cuthor of the Arthas'astra fully recognises the excellence of moral law or rightcourses.

But though he believes in Dharma he is not so much concerned with it. As an ardent upholder of the tents of the Arthas'āstre, he wents to impress upon the king the supreme importance of Arthe in this world.
"All undertakings," he says, "depend upon finance Hence one shall first of all ees to the treasury! (P. 65.) This stitude of Kautilya towards Dharma is indicative in the feet that at his time the institution of the State in India was slowly emerging from the theological stage

## Identity of Interests.

Artha being thus the nue determinable factor in the life of the Kauthiyan king it is in the fitness of things that all his efforts should be directed towards its sequisition mainly hy making ever fresh conquests. But the only thing conductive to the fruitful adoption of the policy of conquest and extension is the stability of his own government which on its part solely depends upon the goodwill and loysity of his subjects. This, however, is only occurred when the accurring lifetifies his own interests with those of his poorls and become it is that

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Kaut lys shrewed that he is expressly advises him to look upon the interests of his subjects as his own in this famous couplet —

> प्रजासुले सुख राज्ञ प्रजाना चाहितेऽहितम् । नात्मीप्रय हित राज्ञ प्रजानां तु प्रिय हितम् ।।

"The happiness of his people is the happiness of the king, their sorrow is his sorrow. It is the wellars of his authorise and not of his own that will secure his happiness" Especially in regard to the newly conquered people the adoption of this policy is the strongest shield squared despoisem. It is therefore that under sund objects and the conquered people by respecting their established institutions customs, dress and language, and by showing his faith in their religious pursuits. (Cf. तस्मत्यमानवीज: वेषमानावासतायमानवादा दिवार प्रतिकृति क्षात्र करियान विकास करियान क्षात्र करियान कर

See Dunning pp 215 217,

— Political Theories Vol I:

<sup>1</sup> P 39

<sup>2</sup> P, 409 It is needless to remand that this is nothing but one of the typical Kauthlyan expediences. It is noteworthy that Machiavelli gives almost the same advice to his prince for the preservation of Dominion and stability of his government.

rise to such factors as would tend to their degeneration, greed, and disaffection 1.

The second and perhaps the most important factor that would contribute to the specessful maintenance of his home administration and also to his personal safety is the character of the king himself. A monarch who is a rake or a libertive often excentes his own destruction. The loose character of the prince is surely detrimental to the preservation of his kingdom." And heace in the oninion of Kantlys, a king even though having an only son, had better not enthrone him. if he is of objection able obaracter (Cf न चैकं प्रामिवनातं राज्ये स्थापयेत ।) When the question arises as to whether the Vingis'u should march seamst an assaulable enemy of righteous character ( Augustritts ) under great odds or the one of a vicious nature, then, according to Eautilya, it would be more advantageous to march against the latter as he says. "the subjects of a virtuous enemy involved in worse troubles, will help him when attacked, whereas, of

तस्मात्मकृतीना श्वरोभविरागकार्णीन नोत्पादयेत् p १७७.

Kantulya gives a very realistic description of the manufold causes of national discontent which would be as true today as they were in the days of the author, vide, p 276

<sup>2</sup> This point hautilya illustrates by taking various examples, both Pauranic and historical vide pp 11-12

<sup>8.</sup> P. 35.

## CONCLUSION

Givil liberty, the fundamental requisite of democracy—11's total absence in the political philosophy of Kauthiya—The Kauthiyan conception of monarchy and its somplete identity with that of the Dharmasastraa—fauthiya primarily a practical philosophar of the State—Court policy of the Mearry emperor with regard to conquered State—The Samghaa—Chandragupta, a worthy disciple of his master.

In the preceding obapter we critically analysed the contents of the Artharastra and collected all the materials necessary to ascertain whether the State of Kautilya had at all any elements of modern democracy, namely, civil liberty and the right of the public to enforce their will on the State. These, it is needless to observe, constitute the very essence of democracy in the real sense of the term. Civil Liberty means the right of the public to call in question every despotio action on the part of the government, and the right to enforce the public will on the exactive means popular control, whethere direct or indirect, over the general administration of the State. These follow as the two corollares from the theory of the subordination of the executive to the general will or

#### IDEALS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITICS

the State in the abstract. So the most essential requisite of democrary is that the State should be both distinct from and shove the government which should only serve as a medium to execu e its orders. But from the critical examination of the Arthae'astra we find that no such difference ager existed between the executive and the State It was the kine himself who was regarded as being identical with the State and as such there was no higher human authority who could control him. This shows that there was no general will spart from the wil of the sovereign As to the various high functionaries of the State they were in no way bound by the will of the people. They were merely the servants of the king's own choice and consequently derived no nower independootly of him. The conception of the king heing the ultimate authority in the State owed its origin to the instinct of proprietorship with regard to the kingdom over which he raisd. So with regard to the nature of the Kant liyan monarchy we arrive at the following conclusions

- ( t) That the king was not at all subservient to the will of the people
- (11) That the state and the executive were one and the same
- (m) That if the rule of the hautilyian king was henerolent it was due to a sense of Dharma and the instinct of self preservation

and not in any empatitutional limitations on his sorvereignts.

According to Kautilya, therefore, the idea of the State is firstly, that kingship should be identical with the State, and secondly that the ling should enjoy absolute powers But this idea of the State exactly coincides with the one of the Dharmas'sstras which we have noted in the course of our discussion over the nature of Hindu monarchy. From this it appears that though the work onder discossion is primarily a manual of practical politica and as such pever occurres steel! with the problems of political philosophy, yet, Kantilya takes the political philosophy of the Dharmas'astras and the Mahabharata for granted and treats of the practical administration of the State to soit the growing needs of a newly hore empire In fact, the philosophy of Kantilva is not primarily a philosophy of the State but that of its practical administration. The following remarks of Dunning made in connection with the philosophy of Machiavelli may be said to describe the Kautiliyan philosophy. ' His philosophy, " observes the learned professor 'is a study of the art of government, rather than a theory of the State He is interested in the establishment and operation of the machinery of govt in the forces through which governmental power is generated and applied."1

<sup>1.</sup> P 203 Political Theories. Vol L.

The fact the Kautilya was the prime minister of the Emporor Chandragupta and also the fact that the administrative machinery described in that book of the Arthas'faire entitled 'Adbyaks'prachāra', resembles one whose glimpse we obtain, from the partial observations of Megasthenus', who was himself an eye witness to the court life of the first Indian Emperor, establishes that the Arthas'ssixs of Kautilya treats of the administration and the state policy of his kingdom. Unlike the Roman Empire, the Mauryan Empire seems to have been mainly constituted of autonomous State. This appears most probable from the following advice which Kautilya grees to the conquered king who is killed in action Says Kautilya:

न च इतस्य भूमिद्रव्यवुज्यासानाभगन्येत । बृह्यानंपस्य स्थेषु पोत्रेषु स्थापयेत् । कर्माण मृतस्य वृद्धं राज्ये स्थापयेत् । एवमस्यद्रण्डा-पनतः वृत्येतामन्त्रवेतने । वस्तुचनतान्त्रस्य च्या वा भूभिद्रव्यपुत्र-दारानाभमन्येतः, तस्योद्विमं सण्डलमभावानीसिन्नवे ।

"He should not covet the fands, wealth, sons and wives of the king shin (by bim), on the contrary he should install in his own estatate any secon of his family. He should invest with soversicity the heir-apparent of

<sup>1</sup> Vide pp. So 42 of the introductory essay of Prof Radhakumud Mukherjes to N N. Law's Ancient Hindu Polity Vol I.

<sup>2.</sup> P. 313

the king who has died working (either for or against the conqueror), all conquered kings if this treated loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the conqueror. Who aver in the uther hand, covets the lands, wealth aons and wives of the king whum he has either slain in impresoned, provokes the Circle of states and (thus) causes it to take up arms againet him?

This policy of conclination recommended by Kantilya and honce ancel, adopted by his master disciple with molecenee to the subdued hings clearly indicates that Chandragupta was nut an much after conquering the territories and thus bringing them, like the Roman Emperors under his direct control, as he was after establishing and consolidating his political succeeding on all sides of Magadha—probably the area of his personal rule. He was probably satisfied with receiving regular anunities from the various conquered powers but seems not to have tampored with their internal administration.

[ As for these states, it must be said that they were almonarchical states As to the Samphas whose acquisition on the part of the king Kautilys values so much! they must not have heen "States" in the real sense of the word From the Arthas'stra they seem to have been only emporations or clan governments; and the type of the type of the primitive angula Lastitutions of the Vedic

संघलामी दण्डामित्रलामानामत्तमः। 🗩 🕬

Aryans having no specific territory of their own.\tag{The Saughas appear to have been nothing more than mercenery guids of warriors (only comparable to the Pindaries of later days), making their living either on trade and agriculture or on the profession for which they were naturally fit.\tag{The Samphmukhyas referred to in the Arthas'astra could be none clse than the leaders of su h corporate hodies \(\)

Chaudragupta could not help following this sort of non aggressive' policy with regard to the several state by which he was surrounded, in view of the elippery condition of the times in which he lived and also in view of the fact that he had to achieve the formidable task of establishing his sway on the minds of the people, when he as an usurper, had onsted the Nanda dynasty rich with traditions. Hence we may safely infer that the personal reign of Chandragupta might not have been so oppressive to his subjects of Magadha in general and of Pataliputta in particular in the midst of whom the emperor lived and moved and with whose interests, as a worthy follower of the Kautiliyan philosophy, he identified his own.

### THE END

l So far as the Arthus astra is concerned, the Samghas are not mentioned either as holding territories or wicking political authority

काम्भोजनुसुद्ध • •• श्रेण्याद्यो चार्ताशस्त्रोपजीवनः'p ९/८

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